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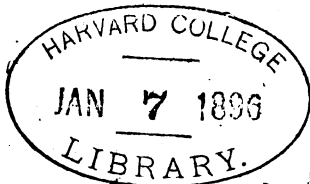
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# SOME NOTES

ON

THE LEADING GRAMMATICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF  
THE PRINCIPAL EARLY ENGLISH DIALECTS.

BY

*Wilhelm*

Wm. T. P. Sturzen-Becker, Ph. D.

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The speech of Old England, it is well known to all of us, has been affected by great calamities before it could attain that high degree of perfection to which it has come in our days. It has undergone periods of decay, in other words of change and instability and admixture not so palpably evident in many other European languages. But a patient recovering from severe sickness may enjoy better health than before, and so, *mutatis mutandis*, it has happened to the English language. In its childhood it developed itself with independence and force and pliancy and flexibility, but soon it became acquainted with strangers, and these influenced it disadvantageously. By little and little it lost its simplicity; its body, hitherto so strong, became weakened by the great quantity of strange and unfit food crammed into it, and not till this organic material was digested and assimilated could the language rise in a new shape, in its way as strong and harmonious as in its earlier days, but at the same time enriched with the experience and manysidedness of the ripe man.

It does not come within the scope of this essay to show the relationship between the Old North English and the Old South English, or how the more commonly known and used book-language (the speech of King Alfred) after the Conquest was gradually changed by the adoption of foreign elements until it at last again became a somewhat fixed language. In other words, I shall not attempt here a thorough exposition of the historical development of the English tongue. There is only one phase in this eventful history which I propose in the following



pages to discuss somewhat fully. It is how England during the time of the Franco-Norman influence possessed no fixed and uniform written language, but only written dialects, and in what degree those idioms grammatically differed from each other.

But before I proceed to this question, it is necessary to mark out the limits of that period of the language which I here discuss, and shortly to set forth the points of difference between the said stages of the English speech.

From the earliest times the language spoken and written in England has always been called English; I reject therefore the comparatively modern term Anglo-Saxon used chiefly by German scholars the better to insinuate the pretended German origin of this fine old tongue. Instead of this I adopt the only correct and furthermore very simple denomination Old English, now employed more and more both by English scholars and in other lands. The objections to this term appear to me of very little force. For instance, Mr. Marsh who, indeed, generously admits, that „we are not to regard the ancient Anglican speech as in any sense a foreign tongue, but rather as an older form of our own“, etc. (Lect. p. 105) and, „the Anglo-Saxon embodies the formative principle, and is, in the strongest possible sense, the organic mother of the English language“ (p. 160), and furthermore, „The Anglo-Saxon represents at once the material substratum and the formative principle of the English language,“ (p. 172); Mr. Marsh, I say, urges, that Anglo-Saxon by no means can be called English. His main argument seems to be included in the following passage: „To designate by one term things logically distinct is to purchase simplicity of nomenclature at the expense of precision of thought; and there is no linguistic test by which the identity of Anglo-Saxon and modern English can be established.“ There can hardly be a difference of opinion as to the axiomatic truth of this observation, and I think nobody will dispute, that the

language of the Swedish „Landskapslagar“ (which so very few Swedes can now understand) is prodigiously unlike the speech of Tegnér and Geijer, as in like manner the tongues of all lands are more or less changed in the course of time; but still they are substantially the same, and they may keep their name untouched. If we wish to avoid that „mischievous confusion of ideas“ to which, according to Mr. Marsh, a common epithet for the Old and New stages of the language would lead, I find the expedient, rejected by Mr. Marsh, quite sufficient, namely to employ the terms the Old and the Modern language for these respective stages. \*)

Philologists have been very much at variance in fixing the limits of the different epochs of the English idioms. The London Philological Society in its „Proposal for the Publication of a new English Dictionary“, p. 5, divides the (modern) English language for „philological purposes“ into three periods. 1. From its rise, circa 1250, to the Reformation — of which the appearance of the new Testament in 1526 may be taken as the beginning. 2. From the Reformation to Milton (1526—1674, the date of Milton's death). 3. From Milton to our own day. — In his *Outlines of the History of the English Language* Mr. Craik

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\*) It would be foreign to our particular province to discuss this question in detail. I shall only add, that it is certain that the different invading peoples in Britain all called themselves alike the English folk, and their language the „English spræc“. Of the word Anglo-Saxon, it may be recorded that it was first used in the life of Alfred the Great ascribed to Asser (a Welshman, the Kelts to this day calling all strangers „Saxons“), where Alfred is called Angul-Saxonum Rex. The term is there likely meant either as an expression of union between Angles and Saxons, or to distinguish the Saxons of England from those of the Continent. It was not until long afterwards that the phrase came into use as a name for the English people and their language during the first epoch of their national life. The pro et contra of this question is admirably discussed by Prof. Geo. Stephens in an article „English“ or „Anglo-Saxon“, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1852, April, May.

extends the first or Early English period from 1250 to 1350; the Second, or Middle English, from the latter date to 1550, and the third, or Modern English, from the middle of the sixteenth century to the present day. Mr. Mätzner (Gramm. I. p. 6), like many other linguists of the same school, styles the English of the 12th century „Semi-Saxon“, and comprises under the term Old English the linguistic period from the 13th century to the time of Elisabeth (1558), after which the New English begins. It would be easy enough to mention many more attempts at arrangements, but it will be obvious already that no strictly scientific and fixed distribution of the stages of any language can be made. When I nevertheless now myself suggest a partition, I must previously remark, that a language no more than logic admits of any sudden leaps; it is impossible to make a precise distinction between even two decennaries in the history of a language, and of course still more impracticable to distinguish between two assigned dates; all such can only be approximative. On the other hand, it is not only highly convenient to make such classification in the history of language, but we are even compelled to do so: interior or external impulses act upon speech with more or less energy at different times, and give it a clearer stamp; the epochs thus marked through certain momentous influences may and must serve as the basis when we propose to make an historical distribution of its gradually altering outward forms.

I will, then, divide the written English language in its whole extent grammatically and philologically into four principal groups: Old English, from the sixth century to Lazamon (Layamon) about 1200; Early English, from Lazamon to Chaucer (ab. 1350); Middle English, from Chaucer to Shakespeare (ab. 1550); New English from Shakespeare to our days. (We might again divide this period into Later English, 1550—1650, and Modern English, 1650—1868.)

We have here only to consider that period which I call Early English. It is obvious, that a speech not cultivated by authors of great genius able to bring the tongue of their country to uniformity and harmony, — and consequently not possessing any standard of diction and grammar, and furthermore constantly influenced by intruding foreign elements — necessarily must be very irregular and staggering. If we then take the time from about 1200 to ab. 1350 as one period of the language, we must expect it to show many variegated colours; for if we compare the works of writers from the beginning of the epoch (as the *Ormulum*) with those written towards its end (as Robert of Brunne's *Chronicle*, which is probably in the same dialect as *Ormulum*), we find a considerable difference in a linguistic sense. Nevertheless I have thought it proper to bring the authors from the first half of the 13th century together with those from the following hundred years in one group; the written language of these hundred and fifty years has at least one common and general character — want of regularity!

The starting point of our period is tolerably easy to fix. For although it is evident that the amalgamation of the spoken Norman-French and Old English took place very slowly and gradually, so imperceptibly that we are quite unable to decide where and when the Old language really ceased and a new development, the Early English, replaced it, — yet, on the other hand, we are supported in our task by the circumstance that the period of fermentation during one whole century after the Conquest, chiefly from political causes, produced very few English writers (I except the compilers of the so called „Saxon“ *Chronicle*, that „patriotic newspaper“ which is said to have been commenced before the days of King Alfred, and which preserved its mark tolerably well quite up to the middle of the 12th century; the other chroniclers wrote in Latin or Norman-French.) We have then more or less of a gap in the English of those

times. With *Lazamon*, who is supposed to have written his Chronicle „*Brut*“ about A.D. 1200, the English song re-awoke and a new national literature commenced. The modest English country priest may therefore stand at the head of the writers from this period.

If I were requested in a few words to mention the principal difference between Old English and Early English, this later period taken in its whole extent, it would suffice to say, that the Old English stage exhibits in its structure a language of inflection and a stock of words tolerably homogeneous, but in Early English a great deal of this inflection has gradually disappeared and a new vocabulary is making its way in the language. Again, if I had to point out the most noticeable changes in the old language, visible for instance in *Lazamon's Brut* at the beginning of the New Era, they would be as follows: The use of *a* or *an* (in the later text: *on*) as an article; the change of the Old English terminations *-a* and *-an* into *-e* and *-en*, as well as the disregard of inflections and genders; the masculine forms given to neuter nouns in the plural; the neglect of the feminine terminations of adjectives and pronouns, and confusion between the definite and indefinite declensions; the introduction of the preposition 'to' before infinitives, and occasional use of weak preterites of verbs and of weak participles instead of strong; the constant recurrence of *-en* for *-on* in the plurals of verbs, and frequent elision of the final *-e*; together with uncertainty in the rule for the government of prepositions. Further, the free use of the preposition 'of' as a genitive sign; with the appearance of *will* and *shall* as marking the future tense. Finally the so called „nunnation“ which I shall treat of more fully hereafter. \*)

As to the ending point of the period, of course it differs not a little from the commencement; yet it must be

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\*) See: Sir Frederic Madden's Preface to *Lazamon*. I. p. XXVIII, XLIII.

admitted that any thorough and striking mutations are hardly to be found in the language of Chaucer and his contemporaries in comparison with that of the authors a little before them. But Chaucer has not improperly been called „the father of English poetry“\*); not only his splendid poetical and dramatic gifts and literary merits, but also his power over the language and ability in harmonising and forming it seem at once to give him the first place in a new epoch in the history of the English language and literature. I add here also some weight to a circumstance, hitherto perhaps too little regarded, namely that Chaucer through the richness and manysidedness of his speech in a certain degree may be styled the father of the universal English written language, whereas previous times only exhibit authors writing in dialects very differing from each other.

To these dialects we now pass over.

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It has already been said, that the Early English period is characterized by an irregularity and fluctuation common to all transitional epochs. It is conspicuous indeed that the Norman-French idiom ought to influence highly the English vernacular tongue as well with regard to the stock of words and the orthography as — although not in such degree — the structure. Still we must not fancy that those striking grammatical and lexicographical differences to be met with everywhere in the works from the 13th and 14th centuries are all sequels of the Conquest. By no means. It is true that all authors of this period wrote in a language intermixed with Roman elements, more or less prominent at different times and in different writers, but the essential diversities depend upon the fact, above hinted at, that there was no general written language, but only several equally authorized written

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\*) Just as Cædmon may be called „the father of Old-English poetry.“

dialects, existing many centuries before the Norman Conquest, which developed themselves independently and characteristically.

Ralph Higden, who died about A.D. 1362, compiled in Latin a History, or Polychronicon, translated into English by John Trevisa A.D. 1387. We find in this translation a chapter „De incolarum linguis“ of which I shall quote some passages (See Morris: Specimens of E. E. p. 338 sqq.):

„Also Englysche men þey; hy hadde fram þe bygynnyngre þre maner speche, Souþeron, Norþeron, ⁊ Myddel speche (in þe myddel of þe lond) as hy come of þre maner people of Germania;\*) noþeles, by comyngstion ⁊ mellyngre furst with Danes ⁊ afterward wip Normans, in menyngre þe contray longage ys aþeyred, ⁊ som useþ strange wlaßfynge, chyteryngre, harrýngre ⁊ garrýngre ⁊ grisbityngre.“ And furthermore: „Also of þe forsegyde Saxon\*\*) tonge þat ys deled a þre, ⁊ ys abyde scarslyche wip feaw uplondysche men ⁊ ys gret wondur, for men of þe est wip men of þe west, as hyt were under þe same part of heyvene, acordeþ more in sounyngre of speche þan men of þe norþ wip men of þe souþ; þerfore hyt ys þat Mercii, þat buþ men of myddel Engeland, as hyt were parteners of þe endes, undurstondeþ betre þe syde longages, Norþeron and Souþeron, þan Norþern ⁊ Souþern undurstondeþ oþer oþer.“

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\*) „Germania“ was used during many centuries by most writers in the sense of „Barbaria“, „the Outland“, particularly the Scandogothic countries, without any reference to the Keltic or German or Saxon or Northern or other populations by whom those immense lands were occupied. The modern „Germany“ is therefore only a small part of the older „Germania“.

\*\*) At this time some had begun to use „the learned inkhorn phrase“ „Saxon“ instead of the plain and simple olden word „English“. But this silly term „Saxon“ died out in the 17th century, and was replaced by the equally foolish „Anglo-Saxon“, which is still too common.

We have here, then, an historical testimony by which we see that the English language towards the end of our period not only was very mixed and impure, (arising out of the fact, says our author, that the children in the schools „bup compelled for to leve here oune longage and for to construe here lessons and here þingis a Freynsch“, and with some indignation he adds: „gentilmen children bup ytaugt for to speke Freynsch fram tyme þat a bup yrokked in here cradel“), but we see furthermore that the vernacular speech was divided into dialects so far from each other that the same author says of the Northern dialect: „Al þe longage of þe Norphumbres, ⁊ specialych at Þorke, ys so scharp, slyttynge, ⁊ frotynge, ⁊ unschape þat we Souperon men may þat longage unneþe undurstonde“.

This mention of „pre maner speche“ in the Polychronicon has been made the basis of a distribution in Mr. Morris' specimens (p. 11), where he says that the Early English speech was represented by three principal dialects, the Northern, the Midland, and the Southern. Garnett (Phil. Essays p. 43) maintains that there in Higden's time and probably long before existed „five distinctly marked forms“: 1. Southern or Standard English (Kent, Surrey). 2. Western English (Hampshire, Devonshire etc. Northward as far as the Avon). 3. Mercian (from Shropshire to South Lancashire). 4. Anglian, with 3 sub-divisions, the East Anglian of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Middle Angl. of Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire and East Derbyshire; and the Northanglian of the West Riding of Yorkshire. 5. Northumbrian. This division may perhaps keep its ground with regard to the modern English dialects, but is not based on dialectical peculiarities to be found in Early Engl. MSS. I will therefore adopt the scheme already mentioned in the Polychronicon; still with a slight modification. For although the idioms of Middle England may have several common characteristics when opposed to the Southern and Nor-



*What is the difference with other  
in the dialect??*

thern, yet they disagree in many grammatical points of great weight, wherefore I think it necessary to divide them into two groups. My distribution will then run as follows:

The Southern dialect, which exhibits by far the largest stock of written works, embraced all counties south of the Thames together with the south-western shires, Somersetshire and Gloucestershire. In Herefordshire and Worcestershire the speech was Southern with Westmidland peculiarities. The dialect of Kent, although marked by several characteristics in forms and orthography, is only to be regarded as a sub-division.

The East Midland dialect was written in the eastern counties between the Thames and the river Humber. In the middle of the country, as Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, etc. the speech was intermixed. It is therefore impossible to draw a line of demarcation between the Midland dialects.

The West Midland dialect included the West-Mercian counties north of Worcestershire together with Lancashire.

The Northern dialect extended from the Humber and Ouse as far as the Forth. The Penine Chain formed the western boundary. In the Lowlands of Scotland the Northern dialect exhibited some peculiarities in vocabulary and orthography, still the speech was substantially the same with that of Northumberland. I adopt however the term Lowland when speaking of the English dialect north of the Tweed.

The limits here designed are of course only approximate. In a work written in a boundary district there are always still further grammatical and orthographical irregularities. That we nevertheless are able to distinguish four dialects conspicuously differing in grammatical forms and orthography, the following comparative outlines will perhaps prove in some degree. Also in the stock of words many noteworthy differences strike us,

but want of space compels me to keep back for another paper this last question so important in determining the true character and origin of these dialects.

Meanwhile the grammatical structure of the different idioms exhibits sufficiently striking peculiarities. Before treating these in detail, I think it proper here to point out how to discriminate between the dialects in a general way. It is, that the Southern and many West Midland writers substantially retained the olden Old South Engl. forms, though considerably altered or simplified, while, on the other hand, the Northern and the earliest East Midland authors used some grammatical forms also found in later Scandinavian, and these forms were afterwards preserved in the universal book-language and are kept there to our own day. We may now ask: When came those forms into the English tongue? Instead of answering directly this question, let us cast a hasty glance at the old history of England.

Without dwelling on the authority of the Venerable Bede it must be acknowledged that several „barbarian“ settlements took place in England in the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries, by clans and colonists popularly called Angles, and Jutes and Frisians and Saxons, but the greatest stock of these probably of Scandinavian origin. But besides this early immigration there was also an inflow of Scandinavians and chiefly of Danes and Norwegians in the 9th and 10th centuries, and these wikings continued to pour into the country at various intervals. These heathen invaders little by little not only conquered the whole Eastern part of England from the Forth to the Thames but also built several strong castles, stamped coins, introduced Danish laws, and finally for a short time (1016—1042) were victors over all England.

If we, then, in the 13th century find Scandinavian traces in just the same tracts of the country that for the longest time were held by the Danes, we are forced to admit of these having either been introduced by these later

Northmen or by the oldest invaders, who then must have been Scandinavians. To arrive at definite conclusions upon this question is not easy, and is for our purpose of no essential weight; I am, however, inclined to believe that these alternatives were both cooperating. For us the chief matter is the fact, that a stock of pure Scandinavian words and forms really is to be found in the Early English dialects, a fact which, I think, will be shown by the following comparisons in spite of the bold assertion of certain philologists that such a Scandinavian element never existed or at least cannot be traced in the old speech of England.

It now remains to give a short account of the principal representatives of the four Early English dialects. We must here observe, that it is often very difficult to mark out with full assurance the place or even the shire where an author lived and wrote, and still more uncertain are we as to the precise date and locality of the existing manuscripts. Sometimes, however, historical testimony of contemporary writers or hints in the works of the authors themselves may contribute to a somewhat accurate determination of this dubious question. But space will not permit me here to enter upon all this. I must refer to the excellent editions of the Early English Text Society, and to those of the learned and laborious English scholars Sir Fred. Madden, Fred. Furnivall, Esq., R. Morris, Esq., the Rev. Osw. Cockayne, Thomas Wright, Esq. etc.

The Southern Dialect shows us a mass of literary products. I have already before mentioned one of the earliest writers in this dialect, viz. *Laȝamon*, who wrote his Chronicle *«Brut»* about A.D. 1200. He lived in Ernley (Areley Kings) in Worcestershire, where he was a country priest. There exist two MSS. of his Chronicle, the earlier written in the 13th century, the later about a generation afterwards; this second text probably transcribed in one of the counties conterminous to the

Anglian border, perhaps in Leicestershire, says Sir Fr. Madden. — The *Ancren Riwe* is a treatise on the rules and duties of monastic life, written for a society of Anchoresses, consisting of three pious ladies with their domestics or lay sisters. According to Mr. Morton, the editor of this work, the author may have been one Richard Poor, bishop of Tarente in Dorsetshire, where the house of the three anchoresses was. The Rule is composed circa A.D. 1220. — *Seinte Marherete*, from the beginning of the 13th century, is a wellknown legend in prose, exhibiting some Midland peculiarities. From the beginning of the 14th century we have the same legend in verse. — *St. Catharine of Alexandria* may also be assigned to the early part of the 13th century. — *The Owl and the Nightingale*, attributed to Master Nicholas de Guildford of Portesham, is written in Dorsetshire. The Rev. J. Stephenson, who edited the poem in 1838, calls attention to a passage where is mentioned the death of one King Henry, and thinks it was written soon after the death of Henry II. (1189). Warton, *History of Engl. Poetry* 1840, I. p. 25, is of his opinion. Madden suggests the time of Edward I, thinking the king might have been Henry III, who died in 1272. Wright, in his edition of the poem 1843, looks upon it as from the reign of John (d. A.D. 1216). I think the opinion of Sir Fred. Madden the most probable one. — A *Moral Ode* is written in the 12th century in a South. dialect with Midland peculiarities. — *Dame Siriz* is a rather loose tale from the end of the same century. — In the same dialect and from the same time is the fable of *The Vox and the Wolf*. — The romance of *King Alexander*, perhaps from the last half of the 13th century, exhibits Midl. traces. — Robert of Gloucester wrote his *Chronicle* in the reign of Edward I, most probably after A.D. 1297, in the South. dialect of Gloucestershire. — In the same dialect, if not by the same author, are *The Lives of*

Saints, of which in the following outlines I cite from the lives of St. Dunstan, St. Swithin, St. Kenelm, St. Christopher, St. Edmund the Confessor, St. Edmund the King, St. Katherine, St. Andrew, St. Lucy, and St. Edward. — A Fragment of Popular Science is in the same dialect and perhaps from the same time. — The Land of Cockayne, by Michel of Kildare, is a satire on monks and nuns which belongs to the close of the 13th century or to the outset of the 14th. — The Proverbs of Hendyng are, according to Halliwell Reliquiæ Antiquæ, written in the time of Edward II. Dr. Guest, Engl. Rhythms, II. p. 337, thinks they may be as early as from the first half of the 12th century. The dialect is South. mixed with Midl. forms. — The short religious poems, A Sarmun, XV Signa ante Judicium, The Fall and Passion, and The Ten Commandements are all from the 13th century and in one and the same dialect, which is pure Southern though exhibiting some orthographical singularities. — In the Kentish dialect we know two remarkable writers, William de Shoreham, vicar of Chart-Sutton in Kent, whose Religious Poems are composed in the reign of Edward II (A.D. 1307 — A.D. 1327); and Dan Michel, who translated from the French his Ayenbite of Inwyt (Remorse of Conscience) in the year 1340.

In the East Midland Dialect we have the philologically important work The Ormulum, a metrical paraphrase of the Gospels, composed by Orm or Ormin, a canon regular of the Order of St. Augustine. According to Mr. Morris, this work is probably written in a Northern part of the East Midland district, perhaps Lincolnshire. Its age is unknown, it may likely be from the beginning of the 13th century, if not earlier. — Next in antiquity to the Ormulum comes The Bestiary, probably written in Norfolk or in a still more northern

county\*). — The Story of Genesis and Exodus is, according to Mr. Morris, written about A.D. 1250. This judicious editor rightly asserts it to be in a more southern dialect of the E. M. district than the *Ormulum*, and he fixes on Suffolk as the locality. — The romance of King Horn, from the last half of the 13th century, exhibits many Southern forms and words, and must have been written in a boundary district. — Robert Mannyng of Brunne wrote in the dialect of Lincolnshire his *Chronicle*, a translation of the French *Chronicle* of Peter Langtoft. He says, he composed his work «in þe þrid Edwardes tyme», probably before A.D. 1338. He had before that time (in the year 1303) translated into English verse the «*Manuel des Péchés*» under the title «*Hand-lyng Synne*». — *Havelok the Dane*, an old lay translated from the French, in which we find the legend of the origin of the English town of Grimsby in Lincolnshire, is probably from the end of the 13th century. — From the same time is the wellknown Dialogue between the Body and the Soul, which is spread in almost every language of Europe, but which has a yet earlier Old English original; it is found in many different E. English MSS.

The West Midland Dialect is not so rich in written monuments as the other idioms. Still we have some very excellent romances and religious poems. In the foremost rank comes, I think, *Syr Gawayne and the Green Knight*, (written ab. 1330) by an unknown author, who also composed the *Early English Alliterative Poems*, three large religious songs, of

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\*) I do not think Mr. Morris is right in ascribing this work to the author of *The Genesis and Exodus* (Preface to G. a. Ex. p. XIII). Not only is there in the *Bestiary* a greater amount of pure English words, and absence of Roman<sup>e</sup> elements though a translation from a Latin original, whereas the *Genesis* exhibits many such traces, but the versification itself indicates a writer of a lower rank than the able author of the other important poem.

great poetical value. According to Mr. Morris, these poems are written about A.D. 1360 in the Lancashire dialect. — Of a much earlier date is *Sir Amadace*, a metrical romance of the 13th century, also written in the Lancashire dialect. It is preserved in two MSS.; the older and better text from the beginning of the 15th century, the second copy probably about a generation later. — *William and the Werwolf*, also a metrical romance by an unknown author, is probably written in the dialect of Shropshire. The age of the poem is, according to Madden, about A.D. 1350.

In the Northern Dialect we have many works of no little value. The Early English Psalter is from the latter half of the 13th century; the manuscript is from the beginning of the reign of Edward II. — In the first part of the 14th century lived and wrote the renowned hermit Richard Rolle de Hampole, born at Thornton in Yorkshire, who died in A.D. 1340. He has written several Prose Treatises, and the great poem *The Pricke of Conscience*, in seven books, and almost ten thousand lines. — The English Metrical Homilies, from about A.D. 1330, is a precious work in a pure Northern dialect, containing many curious Sermons and Tales. — In the first half of the 14th century lived the poet Lawrence Minot whose Political Songs are very energetic and beautiful. He died probably about A.D. 1352. — To Thomas of Erceledoune (who died in 1299) Sir Walter Scott attributes the romance of *Sir Tristrem*. This elegant metrical romance, originally written in a North. dialect, is for us here of little value, as a Midland scribe has considerably altered the text in the MS. now extant. — The *Towneley Mysteries* belong to the end of the 14th century, but the language is that of the lower classes and consequently of a more antique character; they may therefore be referred to our period. — *Cursor Mundi*, or *Cursor o Worlde* is a long interesting poem from the be-

ginning of the 14th century, which is to be edited for the E. E. Text Society by Rich. Morris, Esq. — Finally I shall mention a poet who wrote in the Northern dialect as spoken north of the Tweed, John Barbour. He says in his Chronicle Bruce that it was halfwritten in the year 1375. The Lowland dialect retained for a long time, untouched by the southern innovations, its character and its forms tolerably unaltered. Barbour may therefore, though a contemporary of Chaucer, pretty well be regarded as a true representative of the South Scottish dialect of the Early English period.

It is now time to proceed to the main question. With reference to the plan for the arrangement of the following grammatical outlines, I remark that I only have wished by numerous quotations from the different writers to show the most striking formal differences between the four principal Early English written dialects, without attempting to explain their often very debatable and doubtful origin and development. In the various parts of speech, I have only pointed out such forms as offer dialectic peculiarities, omitting all points — although often of great interest — which are common to all E. E. dialects; my little sketch must therefore by no means be regarded as a complete scheme of the grammatical forms in the written English language of the 13th and 14th centuries. For the sake of comparison I have throughout this paper not only indicated the corresponding forms in the Old common South English book-language, but also touched on those found in the following period, represented by Chaucer.

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## NOUNS.

It has been mentioned in the foregoing pages that the written English dialects of the 13th and 14th centuries differ from the Older speech by disregard of grammatical inflections. In general the Northern and Midland dialects are most stripped of those embarrassing supplements, which in the modern stage of the English vernacular tongue have almost entirely disappeared, whereas the Southern idiom for a long time tenaciously clings to the old usage. So in the declension of Nouns, the earliest Southern writers retain many of the O. E. case endings, the vowel *a*, however, always being softened into *e*, whilst the Midland and particularly the Northern dialects decline the substantive in a very simple way. Meanwhile even in the South. dialect these old inflections are very irregularly employed; so for instance the plural termination *-en* is added to many nouns originally forming their plurals in *-a* or *-u*; many substantives have as well *-es* as *-en* for the plural, and so on. It would therefore be impossible to divide E. E. nouns into certain fixed declensions based upon those in O. E.; and for us such a classification would be of little importance. I restrict myself here to show the more or less regular mode of inflecting nouns in the four E. E. dialects, by handling each case separately.

The genitive case in the singular of masc. and neuter substantives is in the Southern dialect commonly denoted by *-es*, which is the O. E. inflection for

m. and n. nouns of the 2nd declension and n. of the 3rd. So for instance:

Godes childe *La3.* I. p. 391. The hundes smel. *O. a. N.* 820. fleses luste. *Ib.* 893. A3eyn ys wyfes rede. *R. of Gl.* p. 32. Haraldes fader. *Ib.* p. 358. For Cristes love. *Vox a. W.* 193. the nones stounde. *Pop. S.* 13. al man kendes wone. *Shoreh.* p. 118. deap̄es drench. *Dan M.* p. 130. — As a peculiarity of the copyists we may perhaps regard the genit. form *-is*, which in certain Southern writers is rather common or even the regular inflection: þe deuil-is þralle. *A Sarm.* 18. þe neld-is ei *Ib.* 22. man-is sin *XV Signa*, 39. woman mai turne man-is wille. *Fall a. Pass.* 29. maid-is brest. *Ten C.* 39. þe somer-is dai. *Cok.* 151.

The genitival *-es* is sometimes dropped, especially in proper names:

Harald broþer. *R. Gl.* p. 354. Gilbert was Thomas fader name. *Beket* p. 1.

Nouns ending in *-e* (answering for the most part to O.E. substantives of the *n* declension or masc. of the 3rd, having the gen. in *-a*) remain oftenest unchanged in the genitive:

Thin uncle lond. *R. Gl.* p. 93. þe pope lokynḡe. *Ib.* p. 359. hire sone blod. *Shoreh.* p. 84. (But: þas is elches swiken la3en. *La3.* II. p. 537.)

In agreement with the rule in the old tongue the words fader, moder, brother, suster, and do3ter have commonly no inflection in the gen. singular:

His fader lond. *La3.* I. p. 18. Ys moder kun was ys eir, and his fader kun rigt nogt. *R. Gl.* p. 42. his moder isib. *La3.* I. p. 18. in his moder wombe. *Ancr. R.* p. 78. an of þe moder bern. *St. Marh.* p. 2. Seint Dunstanes moder taper. *St. D.* 12. Thy broder bled. *R. Gl.* p. 291. his broder 3orden. *La3.* I. p. 24. Bednerres suster sone. *Ib.* III. p. 100. Artures suster sone. *Ib.* III. p. 10. — Very seldom the gen. in *-es* is found in these nouns: Iþe feaderes nome. *St. Marh.* p. 1. almihti federe3a name. *Ib.* p. 2. ures formes faderes gult. *Moral Ode.* 39. hire fester moderes ahte. *St. Marh.* p. 2. mi broðeres bone. *Ib.* p. 13. þe kyng Artures systers son̄e. *R. Gl.* p. 169.

Feminine nouns (representing O.E. fem. subst. with the gen. in *-an* or *-e*) have commonly *-e* for the sign of the genit. case.

þere quene cun. *La3.* I. p. 15. þet is ancre rihte. *Ancr. R.* p.

142. þe holi rode tockne. *Ib.* p. 106. nime ȝeme of chirche stevene. *O. a. N.* 727. at mulne dure *Ib.* p. 776. The quene fader. *R. Gl.* p. 26. That Elene vncle was *Ib.* p. 89. To þere worlde longen. *La3.* II. p. 540. — (The mascul. termination *-es* is however occasionally met with: In þe chirches sup̄ half. *La3.* II. p. 607 (l. t.) Send mi þi sonde i culures iliche *St. Mark.* p. 7. So often worldes, which is sometimes found also in O.E.: For þan weorlde's scome *La3.* I. p. 20. at þere worldes ende. *Ib.* I. p. 313. þe worldes weldent. *St. Mark.* p. 16. of þe worldes maðelunge. *Ancr. R.* p. 76. for alle worldes goed. *V. a. W.* 161. If man is prute of world-is welle. *Sarm.* 13.)

In the East Midland dialect *-es* is the genitive sign in the singular of feminine as well as of masc. and neuter nouns.

þe flæsshess kinde. *Orm. Ded.* 2. Godess muþess lare. *Ib.* *Hom.* 11672. al ðe fendes sped. *Gen. a. Ex.* 25. ðe ernes kinde. *Best.* 53. a god stund deies. *Ib.* 405. — þe sawless fode. *O.* 11686. (O.E. f. g. sáwle). þe bokess hallȝhelare. *O.* 11924. (O.E. f. g. béc). sorwes dale. *Gen. a. Ex.* 19. (O.E. f. g. sorge). Helles male *Ib.* 22. (O.E. f. g. helle). soules red. *Ib.* 496. helless grimme pine. *O.* 7964. ðis werdes biginninge. *G. a. Ex.* 32. in werlde's dale *Ib.* 142. — Still we have some few traces of the genit. in *-e*, as: Fro helle nigȝt. *G. a. Ex.* 89. ilc sterre name. *Ib.* 134. werlde nigȝt. *Ib.* 1318. his nese smel. *Best.* 3. in ðat welle grund. *Ib.* 74. ðat is soule drink. *Ib.* 206. of helle pine. *Ib.* 774. helle houndes. *B. a. S.* 311, 355, 420. — Proper nouns occasionally form the genit. in *-is*. Adam-is sune. *G. a. Ex.* 493. Abraham-is wif. *Ib.* 1181. To ysac-is bi-ſſe. *Ib.* 1408. (ysaaces sunen. *Ib.* 1656. It was brent on ysac stede. *Ib.* 1336. wexen boðen ysac sunen. *Ib.* 1479. for ioseph luuen, *Ib.* 2002. In Saint Bede bokes. *Brunne* p. 1.) — a winteris nyt. *B. a. S.* 1.

The nouns fader, moder and broðer, make sometimes the genit. sing. in *-es*:

ðor he was for his fadres lue. *G. a. Ex.* 1517. ðe faderes kire. *Ib.* 1536. Hire faderes godes. *Ib.* 1748. bi ðin faderes red. *Ib.* 1586. on faderes sunen. *Ib.* 2175. his broderes kin. *Ib.* 1353. for moderes dead. *Ib.* 1434 — But in the *Orm.* always without inflection: hiss fader wille. *Hom.* 640. hiss faderr ende. *Ib.* 8374. inn hiss moderr wambe. *Ib.* 168, etc. his fader conquest. *Brunne.* p. 45.

In the West Midland dialect the genitive sing. of all genders ends in *-es* (*-e3*). Some MSS. employ the termination *-us* instead of *-es* in all inflections, which must

be regarded as a peculiarity of the scribe, or perhaps indicates a slight variation of pronunciation.

Artureȝ wondereȝ. *Gaw.* 29. goddeȝ blessing. *Ib.* 370. — for Goddus sake, *Amad. MS. A.* 152, 155. (for Goddes sake, Godes sake. *Ib. MS. B.*) To the marchandus howse. *Ib. A.* 218 (to the marchandes yn. *B.*) The kingus doȝtur. *Ib. A.* 619. thayre lyuus ende. *Ib. A.* 851.

Instances of the final genit. *-e* may occasionally be found. Sometimes the termination *-es* is left out.

Upon þe segge foteȝ. *Gaw.* 574. — Baltazar þewes. *All. P. B.* 1436. þis foule fox felle. *Gaw.* 1944. heuyn kynges. *Am. A.* 118.

In the Northern dialect the genitive sing. of all genders has regularly the final *-es*, *-s*, and occasionally *-is* (*-ys*), which is the common form in Lowland writers.

Goddesswille. *Hamp.* 63. þe worldes tharles. *Ib.* 1064. þe warlde end. *Curs. M.* 575. this werdes winne. *Metr. H.* p. 23. þe dedes comyng. *Hamp.* 1969. helles hande. *Ib.* 2825. haly kirkes tresor. *Ib.* 3879. þe somers day. *Ib.* 715. — worldis life. *Hamp.* 1416. þe dedis brayde. *Ib.* 1805. dedys commyng. *Ib.* 1971. the kingis brothyr. *Barb.* IX. 655. King Eduuardis mycht. *Ib.* 844.

Frequently the sign of the genitive is omitted, or the noun is taken absolutely:

Lazar fynger ende. *Hamp.* 3066. Lazar saule *Ib.* 3078. Abraham bosom. 3060. a hors bak. *Ib.* 3421. Adam sin. *Curs. M.* 510. For angel sight þai felle dun mad. *Ib.* 347. Com til hisse maister hous. *Metr. H.* p. 131. Sain Jon the Baptist heved. *Ib.* p. 40. Adam dedes. *Ib.* p. 123 — þarmi fader mirtheses. *Curs. M.* 340. his fader care. *Ib.* 479. in the fader nam of heuin. *Metr. H.* p. 9. My moder wam. *Hamp.* 515. He lighted of his moder kne. *Curs. M.* 238. Right to Maria his moder fote. *Ib.* 311. Crist satte on his moder kne. *Metr. H.* p. 96. — (But, on the other hand: thurgh right of his faders heritage. *Hamp.* 2260. þi moders and mine our bather slogth. *Curs. M.* 436.)

Before passing over to the other inflections, I shall here shortly mention a singularity in the use of the genitive case which is first to be observed in *Lazamon*, and afterwards in the beginning of the Middle English period became pretty common, then decreased for some time, until it re-appeared and culminated in the 16th and 17th centuries. I mean the substitution of the pronoun *his*

for the old inflectional genitive. Many philologists have insisted upon the possessive -s in English nouns being only an abbreviation of this possessive pronoun. It would be foreign to my purpose here to prove the hollowness of this odd grammatical theory. I refer to the explanation of this question made by Mr. Marsh in his Lectures p. 400, seq. In E. E. this employment of the pronoun his, not yet met with in O. E., is confined to the later text of *Lazamon*\*), where we indeed have hundreds of similar constructions, the earlier text exhibiting scarcely any examples\*\*). So for instance:

Howel his dohter. III. p. 18 (Howelles dohter. Ib. earl. t.)  
 Arthur his kineriche. III. p. 5. (Arthures riche. Ib. e. t.) This  
 ilke eniht his brother. II. p. 535. (This ilke theines brother.  
 Ib. e. t.). — And after feminine nouns: For Gwenayfer his love. II. p.  
 511. (for Wenhavere love. Ib. e. t.). To this niht his forst. II. p.  
 375. (Thissere nihte forste. Ib. e. t.)

Finally I shall quote some examples of genitives from Chaucer, who generally adopted Northern and

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\*) Mr. Marsh, Lect. p. 404, quotes a few instances from *R. of Gloucester*, where -ys is used as a posses. sign, and printed separately from the noun. Here -ys may possibly be a pronoun, but, as Mr. Marsh judiciously remarks, the mere separation of this syllable from the root in the Ms. does not prove it to be so, for the participial and preterite augment y, the plural sign -is, etc. are likewise always separated from the root. — On the other hand, this excellent scholar is mistaken when asserting that "no example of this construction has been observed in *Piers Ploughmann*, Gower, Chaucer, or the Wycliffite Versions." The Middle English writers exhibit numerous similar instances. So Gower (besides the example quoted by Mr. Marsh in the notes to his *Lect.* p. 701): *Delicasie his swete tothe. Confess. Am. I. Prol.* 14. Chaucer: *The Nonne Prest his tale. Cant. T.* p. 175. *Of Jesse his sede. Ballad in praise of our Lady*, 48. *Venus his love. Complaint of Mars and Venus.* Maundeville and Trevisa make often use of this construction.

\*\*) In his *Grammatical Analysis to Lazamon* (I. p. xlv), Sir Fred. Madden quotes two instances of this usage in the earlier text, viz. I. p. 175, 279. The context, however, shows that the pronoun his in the passages referred to is the possessive belonging to the following noun, which is an apposition to the noun going before.

Midland forms, although himself a Southern writer. Thus the genit. sing. with him regularly ends in *-es*, but this termination is not seldom dropped.

His ladys grace. 9898. his lady grace. 88. holy chirches feith. 11445. holy chirche blood. 3982. — The sonne streemes. 16240. Myn herte blod. 10221. — Epicurius owne sone. 338. Venus children, 10586. — Fadres hous, 8685. fadres folk, 5883. fader hous 8772. fader kynne, 4036. brothers bedde, 11478. brothir sone, 3086. doughter name, 8485.

The dative and accusative cases in the sing. exhibit no noteworthy dialectic differences, the former pretty regularly having a final *-e* in the Southern and Midland dialects, the latter being like the nominative or increased with an *-e*. In Northern MSS. the final *-e* is added promiscuously to all parts of speech for the sake of euphony or rhyme; and is therefore when occurring in nouns not to be regarded as a regular case ending.

Whilst thus the O. E. termination *-an* in the singular of the simple declension has almost entirely disappeared in E. E. nouns, we sometimes meet with an unorganic *n* in certain cases of substantives, oftenest answering to the old complex order. This addition of a final *-n* to nouns adjectives, pronouns, certain tenses of verbs, adverbs etc., is a widely spread linguistic phenomenon, which has been, and is still, a sad puzzle to philologists. It is generally styled nunnation, and is much older in our dialects than many suppose. In E. E. substantives this added *-n* is chiefly found in the earlier text of *Lazamon* and in the *Story of Genesis and Exodus*. Often this final letter is found in nouns concluding a line and rhyming with a verb in the infinitive, a past participle, or an adverb terminating in *-en*, and might then only be for the sake of the rhyme. From *Lazamon* I shall only quote a few instances:

In the nominative: Nu þu miht iheren hu þes swiken him gon uaren. II. p. 131. (O.E. *swica*, gen. *-an*). þe studen hehte Houenfeld III. p. 261. (O.E. *steode*, *stede*, *-es*.) Nas þer nan oðer bo-

ten. III. p. 282. (O.E. bót, -e; bóte, **an**.) In the oblique case: Mid hazere stefenen II. p. 452. (O.E. stefn, -e.)

### In the Genesis and Exodus:

In the nomin: Bread and oðer meten. 2079. (rhyming with to eten; O.E. méte, gen -s). But mete, 573, 1487, 1492, 1498. So forsanc and brente ðat steden, 1114. (rh. deden.) But stede, 117, 425, 433. And sunne-bem brigt son is witen. 3614. (rh. witen O.E. wlite, -es). But wlite 2288. — In the dative: ðog he ne be lered on no boken, 4. (rh. wel loken; O.E. bóc, d. béc). But booc, 4124. in meten, 3151 (rh. eten). a token of luuen. (rh. a-buuen; O.E. lúfe, -an; lúfu, -e); forioseph luuen, 2002 (rh. abuuen); he biggede in a cauēn, 1137. (rh. grauen). for hire frendes saken, 1392 (rh. taken; O.E. sacu, -e). for is saken, 3731. (rh. maken). and hom seiden wið answeren, 2673. (rh. weren; O.E. andswaru, -e). at te wellen, 2756. (rh. tellen, O.E. weall, -es). — In the accus. In swine ðu salt tilen ði meten. 363. (rh. eten). he weis is witen, 2289. (rh. eten). Tac ðu nogt in idel min namen, 3497. (rh. gamen. O.E. nama, -an).

In the plural number of E. E. nouns the accusative and dative are almost without exception the same in form with the nominative. We have, then, only to consider this latter case and the genitive. — The O. E. plural terminations **-an**, **-as**, and **-a** are in E. E. softened into **-en**, **-es**, or **-e**. In the Southern dialect we find indeed, all these inflections, but often confounded or interchanged; in the more simple and regular Northern speech the plural form in **-es** has almost entirely overcome the others. The Southern d. likewise retain the O. E. genitival plural ending **-ena** as well as **-a**, softened into **-ene** and **-e**, the Northern has only the form in **-s**. We may now consider these different forms in the four dialects.

The plural termination **-en**, properly answering to the O. E. weak plural form **-an**, is in the South. dial. added promiscuously to nouns of all declensions. On the other hand, the weak termination **-en**, which in the beginning of our period was the most current one, is very often changed into **-es** in MSS. of a later date. Many substantives have both inflections even in one and the same author. This change of the weak O. E. plural

form into the strong termination **-es** may perhaps in some degree be ascribed to the influence of Norman-French authors, and is distinctly marked in the two MSS. of Laȝamon's „Brut“, where more than one hundred plurals in **-en** in the earlier text have taken the termination **-es** in the later. Some few examples out of hundreds may serve to illustrate these observations.

The Old-E. plural *treowu* (trees) has already in the earlier text of Laȝ. the weak form *treon*. So, *Treon swiðe muchele*, I. p. 78. *Treon grete & longe*, II. p. 305. *þas hæhȝe treon*, II. p. 498. And: *Muchele treowen*, III. p. 31. Further in other writers: *Ich geder two treon*. *Ancr. R.* p. 402. *þeos two treon*. *Ib.* *grete treon*. *Pop. S.* 175. And *breketh treon*. *Ib.* p. 193. — But in the later text of Laȝ. *troues*. I. p. 22. *treouwes*, III. p. 31. And *trawes*, *Dan M.* p. 25, 94. — The O.E. plurals *cild*, *cildru* are in the Southern d. children. *þine children*, Laȝ. II. p. 168. *Mi childeren*. *R. Gl.* p. 35. (E.M. *childre*. *Gen. a. Ex.* 656. *Childre*, he seide, *hu habbe ȝe fare?* *Horn*, 1355. W. M. *childer*, *Gaw.* 280. *All. P. A.* 717. N. *childer*, *Hamp.* 5881. *My chylde*. *Townel. M.* p. 28.)

The O.E. *deófol* makes its plural *deófla*. In *Dan Michel's Ayenbite* we find the weak form *dyeulen*, p. 73, 83, 86, and the plur. in **es**, *dyeules*, p. 17. So the double forms *bougeren* p. 258 *bougres*, p. 69, 134. *dropen* p. 84, 92; *dropes* p. 92; and so on.

Whilst the Southern dial. furnishes us with more than three hundred plurals in **-en**, the East Midland dialect has only a few such forms, as for instance:

To *þolenn alle wawenn*, *Orm. Ded.* 242. (O.E. *wáwan*). He *ledden feren swike*. *Gen. a. Ex.* 2845. (O.E. *ge-féran*). *Twelf feren he hadde*. *Horn.* 19. his *twelf ferin*. *Ib.* 1242. *ðe treen*. *Gen. a. Ex.* 1127. *Sexti palme tren*. *Ib.* 3805. (But: *Trewwes*, *Orm.* 15835, 16263; *treos*, *Ib. Intr.* 13, 14.; *tres*, *Ib. Hom.* 15468). For *ise fon he leide in bonde*, *Gen.* 2693. To *dead wið goren dragen*. *Ib.* 3458. (O.E. *gáras*). *loten miri* *Ib.* 2258. *alle we ben on faderes sunen*. *Ib.* 2175. (O.E. *suna*). *fif weden*, *Ib.* 2369. (O.E. *wæda*). *newe wunen*. *Ib.* 3137. But *wunes*, *Ib.* 2293 (O.E. *gewunan*.)

In the West Midland dialect I have only fallen in with three or four\*) plurals in **-en**, viz.

\*) In West Midl. works from the Middle English period we find other plurals in **-en** (**-un**), as *fellun*, *dellun*, Robson's *Metric. Romances*; *eyren*, *Liber Cure Cocorum*. p. 7; 11.



Sturnen trumpfen struke steuen in halle. *All. P. B.* 1402 (But trumpes, *Gaw.* 116, 1016). With yȝen gray. *Gaw.* 82, often. Clouȝtand kyndely his schon *Will. a. W.* 12. hire stepchilderen. *Ib.* 129.

The Northern dialect has also some few plural forms in **-en**:

The thuanges of his schon. *Metr. H.* p. 10. (O.E. sceón, scón). shoyne, *Townel. M.* p. 11, 311. shoyne, p. 166. When my shone freys to my fete, p. 79. (But: do of thy shoyes, *T. M.* p. 57. O.E. sceós, scós). From the orig. adjunct. form fáh, fág, fá we have the plurals: Faan, *Ps.* XLIII, 11. fan, *Ib.* XLI, 11. faane, *Ib.* LXX, 10. fane, *Ib.* XXXVII, 17. (But: faas, *Ps.* XVI, 9; XIII, 17, 4; XXXVII, 20; etc. faes, *Ib.* VI, 8, 11; VII, 5; VIII, 3, etc. fas, V, 9, etc. And: Whilk þat me fileghen mi faa. *Ps.* LXVIII, 5. — Barbour has only the form in **-is**, **-s**; fayis, IX, 123, 140 etc.; fays, IV, 9, 13; V, 10, 388.) Eghen. *Hamp.* 575; etc.

The plural termination **-es**, which, as we have seen, is not uncommon in the South. d., is the regular form in the other idioms. In the speech north of the Tweed **-is**, (**-ys**) is the mark of the plural, which is occasionally found also in the other dialects. Other orthographical peculiarities we find in the West Midl. d. where **-es**, **-us** are often met with as the plural sign.

E. Midl. d. Goddspelles wordess, *O. Ded.* 42. wordes smale. *G. a. Ex.* 18 (O.E. pl. word). — W. Midl. d. brondez & askez. *Gaw.* 2. Arthureȝ wondereȝ. *Ib.* 29. So smoȝe her sydeȝ were. *All. P. A.* 6. gemmeȝ gaye. *Ib. A.* 7. Ȝour londus. *Amad. Ms. A.* 5. (yowre londes, *Ib. Ms. B.*) these godus. *Ib. Ms. A.* 14. ryche giftus. *Ib. Ms. A.* 40. Knyȝtis. *Ib.* 41. — North. d. haly bokes *Hamp.* 30. þe creatures, *Ib.* 57. thair bataillis. *Barb.* IX. 5. braid baneris, *Ib.* 6. our penownys. *Ib.* 55.

Plurals in **-e** are often found in Southern and Midland writers. They properly represent the O.E. forms in **-a**. Frequently the final **-n** is fastened on. But, on the other hand, many plurals in **-e** answer to O.E. nouns of the weak declension, and must then be considered as shortened forms, as we, indeed, commonly find the corresponding forms in **-en** in the same authors.\*) Two or three examples may confirm these facts.

\*) In the Northern dialect these shortened plurals are scarcely to be met with. Dr. Guest (*Ph. S. Proceedings*, II. p. 75) is therefore

The Old-Engl. plural *handa*, (*honda*) is in the South. dialect regularly *honde*, as, þyn *honde feste ibounde*. *St. Crist.* 151. *bynde him honde & fet.* *St. Andr.* 67. But often also *honden*: *his honden faste bihynde.* *St. Crist.* 156. *to hare honden.* *Dan M.* p. 235. In the East M. d.: *he up his hondes bend.* *G. a. Ex.* 3383. West M. d.: *Bifore that spot my honde I spenned.* *All. P. A.* 49. *handes vnwaschen.* *Ib. B.* 34. *sore ho sikes, and hondus wringus.* *Sir Am. A.* 112. (But the North. dial. makes the plural *hend* (Cp. Icel. *hendir*) and occasionally *handes*, as: *Hend þai have, and noght see þai grape with þam.* *Ps.* CXIII, 7. *I hove mi hend.* *Ib.* CXVIII, 48. *Thai wrang thair hend.* *Metr. Hom. Small.* p. XVIII. *þe nayles þat in his hend and fete stak.* *Hamp.* 5602. and: in þine *handes*, *Ps.* XXX, 16. *thair handes.* *Metr. H.* p. 61). — The O.E. *eáge*, pl. *eágan* has in the South. dialect the plur. in *-e* as well as the regular in *-en*. Thus, *Histwaehnen.* *St. Mark.* p. 9. *mine eien,* *Ancr. R.* p. 62. *þine eþene,* *O. a. N.* 75. *hire heien greten.* *Dame S.* 357. But already very early: *bothe his eþe.* *O. a. N.* 381. *hire owene heþe.* *Laþ.* II. p. 327. (l. t.) The other dialects exhibit all the weak form, even the North., otherwise so stripped of these plurals. East Midl. d. *Thine eiþene.* *B. a. S.* 109. *þe lides of hise eyen.* *Best.* 26. West Midl. d. *his rede yþen.* *Gaw.* 304. *myn yþen.* *All. P. A.* 200. *wiþ eiþyen* *Will. a. W.* 217. *hur enyn.* *Sir Amad. A.* 791. (ene. *Ib. B.* 729). North. d. *Un-hile mine eghen* *Ps.* CXVIII, 18. *Cler eghen.* *Hamp.* 575. *hir eigen.* *Metr. H.* p. 17. — The O.E. plural *steorran* is in *Shoreh.*: *The sonne and monne and many sterren,* p. 137; but: *I-crowned wyth tuelf sterre,* p. 133.

Old Engl. nouns of the complex order which have a vowelchange in the plural without inflectional ending, or remain unchanged in nom. pl., are for the most part also uninflected in E.E. Our dialects exhibit only few peculiarities worth noticing. The West Midl. dial. has a curious instance of vowelchange in the word *doþter*

wrong when asserting that these plurals in *-e* are Northern forms; his examples are quoted from Southern and Midl. writers. In Old Northumbrian we have, certainly, forms in *-a* answering to Old South. Engl. nouns in *-an*. In the E.E. Southern and occasionally in Midland dialects we find a tendency to cast away the final *-n* in many other words, as for instance in the preter. pl., the inf. mood, and gerund. of verbs; further in such words as *aþe* (*aþen*); *seove* (*seoven*), etc. On the falling away of the letter *n* see the Rev. Osw. Cockayne's *Seinte Marherete*, p. 77.

(O.E. *dóhter*, pl. *dóhtru*), which makes the plural *deȝter* (Cp. Icel. *dóttir*, pl. *dætr*), to which a superfluous *-es* is occasionally added. \*) So for instance:

*Þe deȝter of þe douȝe wern derelych fayre. All. P. B.* 270. I haf a tresor in my telde of tow my fayre *deȝter. Ib. B.* 866. his luflyche *deȝter. Ib. B.* 939. his lefȝ two *deȝter. Ib. B.* 977. his wlonk *deȝteres. Ib. B.* 983. *Þy wlonc deȝtters. Ib. B.* 899. (But: His two dere *deȝteres. Ib. B.* 814.) — The South. d. has: *Þre doȝtren þis kyng hadde. R. Gl.* p. 29. The East. M. d.: tuo douhteres, *Brunne*, p. 213. *douhtres two. Havel.* 350. To wedden his two dogtres dear. *G. a. Ex.* 1090. The North. d.: *þair doghtirs. Hamp.* 5985.

The Old genitive plural ending *-ena* has remained in the Southern dial. as *-ene*, *en*, (and occasionally *-yn*). In the North. dialect we have no traces of this old inflection; in some Midland writers a few instances are to be found, but oftenest the genitive is superseded by the use of a noun together with the preposition *of*. Frequently the weak inflection *-ena* is used in words which in O.E. oftenest have the gen. pl. termination *-a*.

In the Southern dialect: *ure ælderne dæge. Laȝ. II.* p. 158. (O.E. *ylðrena*). *Olibrius reuene luðerest. St. Marh.* p. 18. (O.E. *refena*). *widewene warant. Ib.* p. 8. *widewene kors. V. a W.* 201. (O.E. *wuduwena*). *Alle halewene soule. St. Dunst.* 181. (O.E. *hál-gena*). *Myd thyn eȝene wepynge, Shoreh.* p. 35. (O.E. *eágena*). — *Sawlene heale. St. Marh.* p. 6. (O.E. *sawla*). *alre worlðene worl. Ib.* p. 7. (O.E. *worulda*). *þu art englene weole. Ib.* p. 11. *Mid englene songe. Moral O.* 177. (O.E. *engla*). *Rouwenne, fairest wimmonen. Laȝ. II.* p. 175. (O.E. *wimmena*). *to beon deovlene fere. O. a. N.* 930 (O.E. *deófla*). *sene develen prynces beth. Shoreh.* p. 109. *alre þeauwene moder. Ancr. R.* p. 278. (O.E. *þeáwa*). *muðene swetest. Ib.* p. 102. (O.E. *múða*). *alle fendene jewyse. Shoreh.* p. 85. (O.E. *feónda*). *The apostlene uet. Ib.* p. 51. (O.E. *apostola*). *At fourty dæȝen ende. Ib.* p. 126. (O.E. *daga*). *thine hennen blod. V. a W.* 40. (O. E. *henna*).

In the West Midland d. we have only a few genitive plur. forms in *-en*: *On blonkken bak. All. P. B.* 1412. (O.E. *bloncena*). *þe*

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\*) In the Southern poem *•The Chronicle of England•* in Ritson's *Metrical Romances*, II., from the beginning of the 14th century, I find the plural *dehtren*: *Nine dehtren*, 545., *ys dehtren*, 547. I have not seen this form elsewhere in the South. dialect.

nakeryn noyse *Ib. B.* 1413. Nwe nakryn noyse. *Gaw.* 118. chyldryn fader. *All. P. B.* 684. (O.E. cilda). Uche a kythyn kyng. *Ib.* 1366. (O.E. cyðða). wyth besten blod. *Ib.* 1446.

**The Old English genit. plur. termination -a** is in the Southern dialect softened into -e.

Monne sorest *Ancr. R.* p. 382. Monne þu ert me leouest. *La3.* I. p. 139. engle & manne blisse *Mor. Q.* 189. alre manne lif. *Ib.* 82. deoreworþist cnihte. *La3.* I. p. 169. (l. t.) meidene meokest. *St. Marh.* p. 4. — In the East Midl. d.: allre kinge king. *Orm.* 3587.

**The genitive plural in -es** is seldom found in Southern writers, but is the regular form in the Midland and Northern dialects. Generally, however, the inflected genitive is abandoned and the preposition of is adopted as a genitive sign.

In the North. d. þe walken schewes handes werkis hisse. *Ps.* XVIII. 2. Mens sons and doghters. *Hamp.* 5434. The stern — tille thir kinges land it fleȝ. *Metr. H.* p. 101. for feir in to jowes landes. *Ib.* Godd schawes in mennes hertes his graz *Ib.* p. 146. — In the East Midl. d. alle riche mannes sones. *Horn.* 21. — (Occasionally in the South. d.: hire owene and oðre mennes sunnes. *Ancr. R.* p. 156.)

If we now finally cast a glance on the plural forms in Chaucer, we observe that the North. and Midl. termination -es, -s is preponderant or even the regular one. Occasionally the terminations -us and -is are met with. Forms in -en and -es are used promiscuously. The genit. plural ends in -es.

Smale fowles, 9. The tendre croppes, 7. The chambres and the stables, 28. faire wyfes, 284. alle nationes, 53. twelf pens, 7158. — And neuters, originally uninflected: folkes, 12102, thinges, 6166, yeres, 2969. — leggus, 593. othus, 812. londus, 830. — argumentis, 9493. bestis, 16367. — schoon, 15143; schoos, 459. asschen, 1304; aissches, 12735. doughteren, 11741; doughtres, 16315. sistren, 1021; susters, 16353. children, 1195; childer, 8031. foon, 16192; foos, 15815. — The. gen. pl. lordes hestes. 8405. seyntes lyves, 6272. — Occasionally: his eyghen sight. 10134.

## ADJECTIVES.

The adjectives in Old English, as in other Scandogothic tongues, had a definite and an indefinite form of inflection. In Early English these double adjective forms are retained chiefly in the Southern dialect, whereas the Northern has mercilessly discarded all inflections. The Midland dialects have two declensions, and discriminate usually between number, but exhibit scarcely any particular signs of case.

The indefinite form of the adj. in the South. dial. is in works of an earlier date almost the same as in Old English. Thus, the nom. sing. has no inflection; the genit. masc. and neuter takes *-es*, fem. *-re*; the dat. masc. and n. *-e*, fem. *-re*; the acc. m. *-ne*, fem. *-e*, n. like the nom. And in the plural, the nom., dat., and acc., have *-e*, gen. *-re* for all genders. Many of these forms are in use throughout the whole E.E. period, some of them, as the fem. sing. dat. and acc., and genit. pl. in *-re*, are very seldom to be met with. Occasionally the Romance plural ending *-es* is found. The Midland dialects have no inflection in the sing.; the plural takes a final *-e*, which however is often disregarded. The Northern dialect has no terminations at all. Still a superfluous *-e* is often added to all cases, even to the nomin. singular, (as, a gude use. *Hamp.* 3674.) The following examples, picked up chiefly from Southern writers, will in some degree illustrate these remarks.

In the singular nominative we find a solitary instance of a nunnation in the adjective *almiȝten* (O.E. *ælmeaht*, *ælmiht*.)

God almiȝtten be herinne. *Dame S.* 25. Goed almiȝtten do the mede. *Ib.* 322. (Also in the East. M. d. almiȝtin louerd. *G. a. Ex.* 30. Almiȝtin god him bad it so. *Ib.* 572.)

The genitive masc. and n. termination *-es* is not of frequent use. Still it is retained for a long time in some indefinite pronouns and compound words. Femin. gen. in *-re* is very seldom employed.

Of reades monnes blode. *Ancr. R.* p. 402. Mid ealmihties godes lue. *Moral O.* 168. Mid alles cunnes wrenches. *St. Marh.* p. 3. Finger is ones kunnes treou. *Ancr. R.* p. 150. To stele to oþeres mannes bedde. *O. a. N.* p. 51. In euche otheres kunnes quede. *V. a. W.* 224. Nones cunnes eihte. *Jud. (Rel. Ant. I.* p. 144). He ne fond nones kunnes blisse. *V. a. W.* 294. nanes kunnēs elne. *St. Marh.* p. 10. Wat dostu godes among monne. *O. a. N.* 563.

The dative masc. and n. in *-e* is common during the whole epoch and deserves no illustration. The fem. dat. in *-re* is found in some phrases, as to godere hele (to good health; fortunately), and to wroðere hele (unfortunately), which are traced even in North. writers of a later date.

To godere þire hælb. *La3. I.* p. 153. to godre heale were 3e euer iboren. *Ancr. R.* p. 194. to goddre heale. *Ib.* 196. To goder hele ever come thou hider. *Dame S.* 261. Goder hele al Engeland was heo euere yborē. *R. Gl.* p. 868. (and in the North. d. Ha, hæ goderhæylle! *Townel. M.* p. 89. In this phrase the inflected adj. coalesces with the noun; so we have it as the subject in a proposition: And goder hile shal ben thin. *Dame S.* 269.) — To wroþer heore hele habbeð heo such werc idon. *La3. I.* p. 21.

The masc. accusative ending *-ne* occurs not seldom; in the 14th century mostly in Kentish authors.

To sechen vnder lofte lond and godne laurd. *La3. II.* p. 156. He hæfden ænne wisne mon. *Ib.* II. p. 170. The fox so godne ne can nanne. *O. a. N.* 810. Nou yziȝ æne yongne boryeis and æne newene kniȝt. *Dan. M.* p. 162. þa viissere hef more blisse uor to nime æne grātne viiss: þape æne littlene. *Ib.* p. 238. godne schele hem telle. *Shoreh.* p. 135. And often in the expression godne dai, which was retained for a long time: Habbeð alle godne dæie. *La3. II.* p. 98. Habbeoð alle godne dæi. *Ib.* III. p. 295. have nou godne dai. *Dame S.* 145. and beð alle godne day. *St. Dunst.* 200. (Occasionally in the E. Midl. d. And haueð hem boden godun dai. *Gen. a. Ex.* 1430. (But: Have god dai. *Ib.* 397.) haue wel godne day. *Horn.* 727.

In the plural the Southern and Midland dialects agree in adding a final *-e* to the singular. I therefore give no examples. Plurals in *-es* are not common:

Ideles þouhtes. *Anscr. R.* p. 144. þreo wateres principales, *St. Ken.* 15. zeuen principals doles þer bysþ. *Dan. M.* p. 17. — (Occasionally in the West M. d. þo syztes so quykeþ. *All. P. A.* 1178.) — Pl. in *-en*: þe riche and þe poueren. *All. P. B.* 127. sturnen trumpen. *All. P. A.* 1402.

The genitive plural in *-re* is chiefly preserved in the widelyspread expression *alre*, *alder* etc., oftenest used with superlatives. (Cp. *Icel.*, *Sw.* *alra*, *allra*; *Germ.* *aller*), and in the gen. *beire* of *beye*, both.

The South. d. *Alemainne*, *aðelest alre londe*. *Laz.* II. p. 154. *cnihtene alre fairest*. *ib.* II. p. 156. *hit is alre wunder mest*. *O. a. N.* 850. *þe siȝt of him is alir best*. *Sarm.* 57. — The East. M. d. *allre shaffte cwen* *Orm.* 2159. *Allre kinge king*. *ib.* 3587. *allre firrst*. *ib.* 11639. *hure aldre bale*. *G. a. Ex.* 322. — The West M. d. *alder grattest*. *Gaw.* 1441. *alþer fayrest*. *All. P. B.* 1379. *alþer-sweettest*. *ib.* B. 699. — The North. d. *alther-best*. *Hamp.* 2195. *aldir-foulest*. *ib.* 527. *aldir fryste*. *Metr. H.* p. 169. *alther-feblest*. *Hamp.* 746. — *her beyre poer*. *R. Gl.* 388. *þeȝȝre baþre bisne*. *Orm.* 2794. *þeȝȝre baþre kinde*. *ib.* 3301. (Our *bather slogth*. *Curs. M.* 436.)

The definite form of the adj. exhibits no striking peculiarities in the different dialects. In *Lazamon* and other Southern writers from the same time we occasionally meet with the weak forms in *-en*, answering to the O. E. final *-an*, but already at a very early date the omission of the letter *-n* was extremely common\*); and in the 14th century the termination *-en* is only found in Kentish writers, who often furnish us with antique forms. The final *-e* is, then, the regular inflection in the Southern, as well as the Midland, adjective in both numbers of the definite declension, and is not uncommon even in the Northern dialect, where it, indeed, only is added for

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\*) I can therefore hardly agree with the learned scholar Dr. Guest, who says (*Ph. S. Proc. I.* p. 72): "In our South. dialect this (the *n*-) declension seems to have been pretty generally followed during the 13th century."

the sake of the rhythm. I quote here a few examples from the four dialects:

In the South. d. þe cristine king luede þat haðene maide. *Laz.* II. p. 177. Rouwenne þe hende sat bi þan kinge. *Ib.* II. p. 176. I blode þan rede. *Ib.* III. p. 45. Than gode ich fulste. *O. a. N.* 887. to do þis gode dede. *St. Dunst.* 144. poisoun streng ynouz for to ʒyue þe ʒunge child. *St. Ken.* 98. singe of þine fule ʒoʒelinge. *O. a. N.* 40. — Roboam vorlet þane red of þe yealden ʒuode men. *Dan. M.* p. 184. He wythstent the prouden. *Shoreh.* p. 107. — The East Midl. d. Goddspelles hallʒe lare. *Orm. D.* 14. Hise oðre breðere. *G. a. Ex.* 2519. on ðe grene leaf. *Ib.* 2775. The West Midl. d. of þe rounde table. *Gaw.* 39. þise gentyle kniʒtes *Ib.* 42. your grete wordes. *Ib.* 312. — The North. d.: with þe left hand. *Hamp.* 1268. þe lefte hand. *Ib.* 1262. þe right way. *Ib.* 139. þe rightwes man. *Ib.* 511. þis gret clerk. *Ib.* 644. þe grete clerk. 665. his gude dedis. *Ib.* 2538. þir grete clerkes. *Ib.* 2972. Thise grete wordes. *Town. M.* p. 30. with thair braid baneris. *Barb.* IX. 6. his gud men. *Ib.* IX. 619.

**Comparison of adjectives.** The Southern and Midl. dialects form the comparative and superlative degrees of adject. by adding **-ere**, **-er** and **-este**, **-est** to the indefin. form. The old termination **-ore**, **-or** is sometimes found in South. and East. Midl. writers. Adjectives in the syllable **-lich** make the comp. in **-laker**, or **-loker**, the superl. in **-lakest**, or **-lokest**. The North. dial. forms its comp. and superl. in **-er**, and **-est** and sometimes in **-ar** and **-ast**. Adjectives in **-lic**, **-like**, or **-ly** are regularly compared.

In the Southern d. An ho both alle for me the gladdere, an to the songe both the raddere. *O. a. N.* 737, 738. þo was he sikerere þan he was. *St. Crist.* 113. — a uilir caraing nis þer non. *Sarm.* 42. Cokaygn is of fairie siʒt. *Cok.* 6. þo was he and al hys glad-dore þan hii er were. *R. Gl.* p. 358. Thou art welcomore than the king *Dame S.* 426. An hors is strengur than a mon. *O. a. N.* 771. — cnihten alre fæirest. *Laz.* II. 156. cnihten alre hændest. *Ib.* II. p. 158. Mid þan deoreste monnen. *Ib.* II. p. 172. þe noblest bacheler. *R. Gl.* p. 30. Bynethe the loweste hevene. *Pop. S.* 119. þe mydmost hatte Regan, þe ʒongost Cordeille. *R. Gl.* p. 29. Semlokest of alle thynges. *Lyr. P.* p. 27.

In the East. Midl. dial. Bapptisstess fulluht was bettere, ʒ hehre ʒ derre: *Orm.* 18221. Bote for pride or grettore mede. *B. a. S.* 103.



— horde deresst *Orm.* 6788. ðe swetteste ðing. *Best.* 508. hegest kinge. *G. a. Ex.* 30. þe fairest may. *Brunne.* p. 213.

In the West Midl. d.: Schyrrer þen sunne. *All. P. A.* 981. þe wakker and þe stronger. *Ib.* B. 835. — þe corsedest (most cursed) kyrk. *Gaw.* 2196. þe fautlest freke. *Ib.* 2363. myldest moder. *Ib.* 754. þe derrest on þe dece. *Ib.* 445. — þe louelokkest ladies. *Ib.* 52. þe comlokest kyng. *Ib.* 53. þe sellokest swyn. *Ib.* 1439.

In the North. d. his stalworþer hand. *Ps.* XXXIV, 10. þai wer þan — mykel brighter. *Hamp.* 6371. richest of folke. *Ps.* XLIV. 13. yhongest es he. *Ib.* LXVII, 28.

**Irregular Comparison.** In Old English many adjectives were irregularly compared, either by changing the vowel in forming the degrees of comparison, or making these forms from another root. In E. E. we have the same anomalies in all dialects, still with some few, for the most part orthographical, differences. One example may therefore suffice.

From the O.E. heáh; hýrre; hýhst, héhst we have the following forms:

The *S. D.* þa herre endes. *La3. I.* p. 334. he is he3ire þan þu *St. Cr.* 59. he3ere maistre. *Ib.* 27. The sonne is he3ere than the mone. *Pop. S.* 97. — þe hæhste la3e. *La3. II.* p. 158. heixst. *Ancr. R.* p. 398. hexist louerd. *St. Cr.* 8. þe hexte man. *Ib.* 14. þe hexiste. *Ib.* 10. the hexte. *Pop. S.* 29. the hexte heuene. *Ib.* 101. þe he3iste maister. *St. Marg.* 67. — The East M. d. regularly. Hehhre lif annd better. *Orm.* 6297. hegere hond. *G. a. Ex.* 3392. hegest kinge. *Ib.* 30. — The West M. d. herre þen ani in þe hous. *Gaw.* 333. The North. d. Regul. hegher þan other in ordre. *Hamp.* 7636. þe heghest planete. *Ib.* 7692. Laverd heghist. *Ps.* XII, 6.

Chaucer makes, for the most part, the definite form of adjectives in -e; in adjectives of more than one syllable the final -e is often dropped. — The plural is denoted by the letter -e. Some few adjectives have the plural ending es, as, places delitables. — The Comp. and Superl. degrees are formed by adding -er, and est to the Positive.

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## PRONOUNS.

The pronouns are, perhaps, the most difficult class of speech to lay hold of in Early English grammar. Every dialect has either its own peculiar forms, or remodels the old ones according to its own rules. The copyists contributed to confuse and corrupt and interchange what originally was more clear and fixed. There are, especially in the personal pronouns, many points of great interest to the philologist, and many obscure and doubtful forms and vocables worthy of a thorough and minute investigation, but I have neither time nor capacity to enter upon such questions. It has only been my intention in this paper to bring together a sufficient number of examples gleaned from different writers, by which the instability and variety in the grammar of the Early English written tongue might be shown. I lay more stress upon simple linguistic facts than upon even the most ingenious hypothetical theories.

### PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

The **first person** sing. of the Old Engl. pers. pronouns is represented by **ic**. In E. E. the South. dial. employs commonly the form **ich**, occasionally spelled **ihc**; the Old form **ic** is, however, not uncommon in earlier writers. Also the North. **I** is often found. The East Midl. d. has the forms **ic** and **I**. Occasionally **hic**, and in King Horn (written in a boundary district) very often **ihc**. The Southern **ich** is seldom found. The West Midl. d. uses only the form **I** (occasionally spelled **Y**). The Northern

d. has also regularly **I**, but sometimes the old **ic** (or **ik**) is met with. Chaucer has adopted the Northern form **I** (**ich** being only found once, 10037; **yk**, 3865).

The Southern dialect. **ic** wulle bilue. *La3.* II. p. 169. **ic** wene. *Pop. S.* 118. **ic** mot 3u telle. *Ib.* 176. **ic** æm ælder þænne **ic** wæs. *Moral O.* 1. (later copy **ich** — **ich**). — **ich** am duc. *La3.* I. p. 20. **Ich** was in one sumere dale. *O. a. N.* 1. **ich** chulle speken. *Ancr. R.* p. 2. **ich** herde saie. *Dame S.* 2. **Ich** bidde þe. *Dan. M.* p. 1. — **Ar** **i**h c utheste uppon ow grede. *O. u. N.* 1696. **i**h c for the no leng ne mourne. *Dame S.* 148. **i**h c hold. *Sarm.* 13. bote **i**h c ligge faste. *La3.* II. p. 167 (lat. t.) **i**h c am to Christe vend. *V. a. W.* 159. — **I** the wulle an oder segge. *O. a. N.* 901. **I** have leten thine hennen blod. *V. a. W.* 40. **as** **I** com by an waie. *Dame S.* 1. if **I** sal tel þat **I** can. *Sarm.* 48. — To soþe þou seidest me, þat as muche as ych hadde **y** was worþ, þei **y** ne leuede þe; þo wyle **ich** oȝt hadde **ich** was worþ. *R. Gl.* p. 34.

The East Midl. d. **I**cc hæfe don swa summ þu badd. *Orm. D.* 11. min fligt, he seide, **ic** will up-taken. *G. a. Ex.* 277. Ðor **ic** wile sitten. *Ib.* 279. Kiden **I** wille ðe ernes kinde, also **ik** it o boke rede. *Best.* 53, 54. Ðat **ic** er seide. *Ib.* 261. — **I** is common in *B. a. S.*, *Havel.*, and *Brunne*, but occurs only thrice in *G. a. Ex.* — **I** wollde. *Orm. D.* 131. Cp. 142, 145, etc. Forr whatt amm i forrworrpenn? *Ib. Hom.* 4815. Als **I** lay in a winteris nyt. *B. a. S.* 1. Here **I** biteche the. *Havel.* 46. Hardely dar **I** say. *Brunne* p. 216. (Get **ic** wene **I** can a red. *G. a. Ex.* 309. And **I** sal bringen ðe a-gen. *Ib.* 1615. And gu siðen **I** sal answer maken. *Ib.*, 3070.). — a sang **i**h c schal 3ou singe. *Horn.* 3. **I**h c telle 3ou tiþinge. *Ib.* 128. **i**h c here fozeles singe. *Ib.* 129. Horn **i**h c am ihote. *Ib.* 201. — Bidde hic singen non oðer led, ðog hic folgen jdel-hed. *G. a. Ex.* 27, 28. Queðer so hic rede or singe. *Ib.* 34. mot hic hem bugen. *Ib.* 1102. — **ich** wille. *Hav.* 388. **ich** haue. *Ib.* 578; 667. **Ich** am ney dede. *Ib.* 644. **ig** do the lede to the galues. *Ib.* 686.

The West Midl. d. **I** wot. *Gaw.* 24. **I** schal telle it *Ib.* 31. **I** leste her in on erbere. *All. P. A.* 9. here, quere **I** was borne. *S. Amad. Ms. A.* 16. (ther **Y** was borne. *Ms. B.* 16.) William **Y** higt. *Will. a W.* 68. For **I** wol of þe werwolf a wile nou speke *Ib.* 77. now wot **I** never in þis world of wham **y** am come. *Ib.* 303.

The Northern d. four thynges **I** find. *Hamp.* 241. als **I** sayde are. *Ib.* 407. **I** sal schrive to lauerd. *Ps.* VII, 18. now **I** wex old. *Townel. M.* p. 21. **I** sal help. *Metr. H.* p. 120. **I** yow say. *Barb.* IX, 13. — **I**c am seluen in wildernes. *Metr. H.* p. 50. **I**c am man. *Ib.* p. 127. **I**k hycht. *Barb.* IX, 197. **I**k undreta. *Ib.* 225, 309.

The genitive of the two first personal pronouns is scarcely found, except when used as inflected possessive

pronouns (ich hit neaver nuste þat he of min hearm hefde *St. Mark.* p. 8. I it never wist that he had harm of me.) The dative and acc. are in all dialects **me** and **þe**, and need therefore no illustration.

The **second person**, O. E. **þú**, is in all dialects, **þu**, **pou**, still with some orthographical differences which a few examples may show.

The South. d. þu shalt ihere. *O. a. N.* 748 thou seist as hende. *Dame S.* 61. The East M. d. Abram, þu fare ut of lond. *G. a. Ex.* 737 occasionally: ðhu salt ben ut in sorge luken. *Ib.* 362. thquȝ schalt. *B. a. S.* 32. thoug haddest. *Ib.* 36. touȝ taugtest. *Ib.* 56. The West M. d. Art þou my perle? *All. P. A.* 242. The North. d. O thou world. *Hampt.* 1206. If thow wille. *Ib.* 624. art thow presoner? *Barb.* IX, 708.

The two first persons had in O. E. a **dual number** which also is to be met with in E. E. Southern and East Midland writers as late as towards the end of the 13th century, after which time it seems to have been disused. The O. E. dual form for the first person was **wit**, oblique cases: **uncer**, **unc**, for the 2nd pers. **git**, obl. c. **incer**, **inc**. In the Southern d. we have **wit**, **unker**; **unc**, **unk**, and **git**, **incker**, **inc**. The East Midl. d. preserves the following forms, **wit**, **unker**, **unc**; and **ȝit**, **ȝunker**, **guncer**, **gunc**.

In the Southern d. **wit tweiȝe**. *Laȝ.* II. p. 571. (we tweiȝe, lat. t.) þe bet wit mawen libben *Ib.* I p. 406. Ford wit nu swuȝe. *Ib.* II, p. 77. — þa ferde of unker londe. *Laȝ.* I. p. 221. vnkere cnihten. *Ib.* I. p. 379. a-swike wit unker fihȝes. *Ib.* II. p. 83. And se wipere unker bo of briȝter howe (which of us two be of brighter hue). *O. a. N.* 151. to unker dome. *Ib.* 552. unker voreward. *Ib.* 1687. unker dom. *Ib.* 1778. — þe eotend unc ifeng. *Laȝ.* III. p. 28. ne mei unc nowȝer lif ne deað tweekin atwa. *St. Mark.* p. 5.\*) dem bituhen unc twa. *Ib.* p. 8. — ne beon ȝit bute tweiȝe. *Laȝ.* I. p. 214. cnihtes ȝit beoȝ. *Ib.* I. p. 217. ȝit witen ful wel. *Ib.* I. p. 239. — ich inckere freond wurȝe. *Laȝ.* I. p. 239. incker moder inc hateȝ. *Ib.* I. p. 217. (haldeȝ þer unker (your) rune. *Ib.* III. p. 55.) — Ic inc habbe beiene. *Laȝ.*

\*) The distinguished editor of *Seinte Marherete*, the Rev. Osw. Cockayne, says p. 88, that the dual of the 1st person is not found in the work. Probably a mere lapsus memorię.

I. p. 239. þe hali gast þat gilt of inc baðen. *St. Marh.* p. 21. (Hunke schal i-tide harm and schonde, 3ef 3e doþ griþbruche on his londe (to you [?] *O. a. N.* 1731.).

The East Midl. d. Witt hafē takenn ba. *Orm. D.* 7. Witt shu-lenn tredenn unnderrfot *Ib. D.* 73. Frend sule wit ben. *G. a. Ex.* 1775. — off unnkerr swinnē. *Orm. D.* 80. — Annd unc birrþ. *Orm. D.* 27, 85, 87. unnc ba. *Ib.* 11002. off unnc baþe. *Ib.* 10987. unc bi-twen. *G. a. Ex.* 1776 — iff 3itt muþhenn betenn itt. *Orm.* 4798. to 3unkere baþre gode. *Orm.* 6183. leded samen gunkur lif. *Gen. a. Ex.* 898. — 3unnc baþe. *Orm.* 4493. 5147. 6157. gunc boðen. *Gen. a. Ex.* 2030.

The Old English plural of the first person, **we**, has in all dialects remained unchanged. The dative and accusative **ūs** is in the South., East Midl. and North. dialects **us**, (**ous**), some West Midl. writers add an initial **v**, which may be merely an orthographical peculiarity for **u**, a double **u** indicating the long sound of the word. (Compare, however, the Danish dial. and vulg. **vos**, Swed. dial. **voss**, **vuss**, etc.) So for instance:

God hat3 geuen **vus** his grace. *Gaw.* 920. who brynge3 **vus** þis beuerage. *Ib.* 1112. **vus** þynk **vus** o3e to take more *All. P. A.* 551.

The second person plur. **ge** in O. E. is in the South. dial. spelled **3e**, **3eo**, **3he**, and **ye**; the East Midl. d. has **3e**, **ge**, the West Midl. d. **3e**, the Northern d. **yhe**.

The South. dialect. Mid me 3e scullen bilæuen. *La3.* II. p. 154. (3e, lat. t.). whæt cnihten 3e seon. *Ib.* (wat cnihtes beo 3eo, lat. t.) wulle 3e þis pes to-breke. *O. a. N.* 1728. 3e mov isee. *Sarm.* 14. — The East Midl. d. 3iff þatt 3e Drihhtin cwemenn. *Orm.* 11692. Sone 3e it ðor-of hauen eten. *G. a. Ex.* 329. wulde ge nu listen. *Bést.* 89. — The West Midl. d. þa3 cortaysly 3e carp con. *All. P. A.* 381. If 3e wyl lysten þis laye. *Gaw.* 30. welcum most 3e be. *Amad.* 128. — The North. d. Als yhe sal here aftirward sone. *Hamp.* 68. Ye shalle wax and multiply. *Townel. M.* p. 24. Ye sall discomfyt thaim lychtly. *Barb.* IX. 53. quen yee funden haf þe barn. *Curs. M.* 104. qui er yee rade. *Ib.* 348.

The dative and accusative **eow** in O. E. is in the South. d. **cow**, **eou**, **ow**, **ou**, **3ou**, **3ow**; in the East. M. d. **3uw**, **gu**, in the West Midl. dial. **3ow**, **you**, and in the North. speech **yhow**, **yhou**, **yow**, **you**.

The South. d. ich eou wullen zeuen lond. *La3.* II. p. 159. (3ou, lat. t.) ich wulle eou at-halde. *Ib.* (ich wolle ou at-holde, l. t.) 3ot ich ow alle wolde rede. *O. a. N.* 1695. Vor nis of ow non so kene. *Ib.* 1703. Ich — in bedde to-gedere ou founde. *V. a. W.* 214. Ich wes ofte ou ful ney, and in bedde to-gedere ou sey. *Ib.* 215, 216. ic mot 3u telle. *Pop. S.* 176. as ich seide 3ou er. *Ib.* 330. ich 3ou wole nou telle. *St. Ken.* 116. Ich wole go wiþ 3ou. *St. Cr.* 154. ic mote — to 3ov schow is vp-rising. *Fall a P.* 6. — The East Midl. d. To fedenn 3uw, to frofrenn 3uw, to wissen 3uw. *Orm.* 11559. acc 3uw birrþ witenn witerrlig. *Ib.* 11411. a tte gu forboden is. *G. a. Ex.* 325. ic gu seie. *Best.* 750. we hawen told gu her. *Ib.* 764. — The West Midl. d. now wyl I of hor seruise say yow no more. *Gaw.* 130. as I 3o say. *Amad.* MS. A. 49, 55, 61. — The North. d. Here haf I shewed yhow. *Hamp.* 3560. Now wil I shew yow shortly. *Ib.* 2786. suthly I say yhou. *Ib.* 6210. I tell yow a thing sekurly. *Barb.* IX 80. what alis you? *Townel. M.* p. 27.

The third person of the E. Engl. personal pronouns exhibits many peculiarities worth a special notice. If we first consider the masc. gender, we meet in the South. d. with the form **a**, **ha** as well as **he**, answering to O.E. **he**, the other dialects having only **he**. This **a**, which is still existing in modern dialects of the South of England, is probably nothing but a broad pronunciation of the common **he**. In the earlier stage of the E. E. speech **ha** is used in the sense of she and they, being, I think, mere corruptions of **heo**; hence the sound was adopted for the mascul. sing., and the pronoun was then spelled according to the sound. The form **heo** for **he** in some MSS I regard as simply a fluctuation of the pronunciation.

In the South. d. a lond a verde sechinge. *La3.* I. p. 59. l. t. (an lond he ferde sechinde. *Ib.* e. t.) þo a þohte anoþer. *Ib.* I. p. 122. l. t. (þæ þohte he on oðer. *Ib.* e. t.) Hondred winter 3ef a levithe. *Shoreh.* p. 1. ar a deythe and he not wanne. *Ib.* p. 3. Ine the foreheved the crouche a set. *Ib.* p. 15. suche death a under3ede. *Ib.* p. 83. A seyde. *Ib.* 124. God hymself a wolde come. *Ib.* p. 128. — Ha beat and smit and wyf and children ase ha were out of his wytte. *Dan M.* p. 30. ha wente in-to helle. *Ib.* p. 12. His crouche ha beer. *Shoreh.* p. 85. Ha gradde 'Hely'. *Ib.* p. 86. Ha nolde nauzt he were a-slawe. *Ib.* 120. — þat heo us ifreoie. *La3.* I. p. 40. þa queð Pantolaus, wið Gurguint heo speke þus. *Ib.* I. p. 264. Olibrius — heo ne mizte hit for deol iseo. *St. Marg.* 138.

The O. E. masc. genit. **his** and dative **him** are common to all E. Engl. dialects; the initial **h** is not seldom dropped in the genitive and a superfluous final **-e** is often added.

A man sal know is owin frend, is wif, is fader, and al is kin. *Sarm.* 54. Leicestre, aftur ys owne name. *R. Gl.* p. 29. — hise headene godes. *St. Kath. Al.* p. 4. hise lerning cnihtes. *Orm.* 17820. he wit hise word made lig. *G. a. Ex.* 44. Hise word, þat is, hise wise sune *ib.* 76. Til hise sone. *Havel.* 40. Seli þat ransakis witnes hise e. *Ps.* CXVIII. 2.

The Old accusative **hine** remains only in the South. dialects and is occasionally to be met with in the East Midl. version of the Genesis and Exodus. The substitution of the dative **him** for the accusat. is however in the South. d. very common, and in the other dialects **him** is the exclusive form. The Ormulum, which is of an earlier date than the Gen. a. Ex., uses also the dative **him** for **hine**. In the 14th century the old form is still frequent in Kentish authors.

The South. d. Sone swa heo hine imættæn, fære heo hine igretten. *La3.* II. p. 153. Mid mine songe ich hine pulte. *O. a. N.* 871. The vox hine i-kneu. *V. a. W.* 123. A kniȝt — stange hyne i the ryȝt syde. *Shoreh.* p. 86. Jesus me clepede hyne therfore. *ib.* p. 122. Ase hye y-seye hine feye, Thanne i-size hyne come to lye aȝen. *ib.* p. 124. me ssel hine loky. *Dan M.* p. 7. god þet hine zo — uayr — hedde y-mad. *ib.* p. 16. — The East Midl. d. hise wise sune, ðe was of hin — boren. *G. a. Ex.* 47. fleges kin sal hin ouer-gon. *ib.* 3004. Sacles he let hin welden it so. *ib.* 916. Siðen loth wente ut of hine, brende itðhunder. *ib.* 1107.

The Old. Engl. feminine of the 3rd person, **heo**, she, is in the Early Engl. dialects found in various shapes, so that we often scarcely are able to recognize the primitive simple form. The initial letter **g-** in the North. form of the pronoun (**sco**, **sho**, whence modern Engl. **she**) indicates another origin of that word. It is generally supposed that this form is a corruption of the O. E. demonstrative femin. **sēo**, and this pronoun may perhaps offer a satisfactory explanation of the word, but already as early as in the Old English Chronicle (s. a. 1140)

we find it spelled *scæ*; so the insertion may be no guttural. The Southern writers from the beginning of the E.E. period use pretty regularly the old form *heo*, but soon we find forms as *3eo*, *3e* (in the later text of *La3.*), *ho*; *ha*; *hi* (in the Kentish d.); *hue*; and even *he*; occasionally corruptions of the North. *sco* occur. The East Midl. d. exhibits the forms *3ho*, *go*, *ghe*, and in later writers *sche*; *sho*. The West Midl. d. *ho* and sometimes *scho*. (So regularly in the Shropshire dialect). But the North. d. has always *sco*, *sho*, *scho*. Chaucer uses the form *schē*.

The South. d. *Heo* bar an hire honde ane guldene bolle. *La3.* II. p. 174. (*3eo* bar, *Ib.* l. t.) as *heo* biheold lokinde uppon hire riht half. *St. Mark.* p. 10. Euerich on sigge hire vres also *heo* haueð iwriten ham. *Ancr. R.* p. 20. *Heo* seide. *O.a.N.* 452. Cordeille — *heo* was best and fairest. *R.Gl.* p. 29. *Heo* maketh thus hire cours. *Pop.S.* 16. *heo* nuste whannes hit com. *St.D.* 13. þulke tyme *heo* was old. *St. Kath.* 5. — *Ho* was þe gladur. *O.a.N.* 19. Thar *hoe* wonede. *Dame S.* 20. *hoe* wes srud with palle. *Ib.* 23. of hire loue *hoe* seith me nai. *Ib.* p. 179. — *3ef* *ha* is free wummon. *St. Mark.* p. 3. *þa* *ha* *3ung* were *ha* held hire eldrene hird wisliche. *Ib.* p. 22. *þa* *ha* hefde of elde fiftene *3eres*, ant hire moder was iwend. *Ib.* p. 2. — Hy hath of hyre leve sone. *Shoreh.* p. 118. Four manere joyen hy hedde here of hyre sone. *Ib.* the blysse, that hye heth. *Ib.* p. 119. þis zenne of prede ys to dreduol, uor hi ablent men. *Dan M.* p. 16. whanne he acsede ate guode wyfman — hou moche hi hedde him y-lete, hi andsuerede, þet uerst hi hedde y-write ine hare testament, þet hi him let a þousend and vyf hondred pond. Ac hi lokede efterward ine hare testament and hi yse3 þe þousend pond defaced. *Ib.* p. 190, 191. hy wes al out of hare wytte. *Ib.* p. 191. — a god woman, that hue be sum del pore. *Hend.* 35. Lylie-whyht hue is. *Lyr.P.* p. 30. — That kynges dogter as he was *R.Gl.* p. 268. the quene of England that he hyder vende. *Ib.* p. 390. (his maide) he seide. *St. Marg.* 65. cf. 155, 177, 178. — womman — *3ho* wol pilt hir to *F.a.P.* 29. *3ho* makid. *Ib.* 84. *3o* wep. *Ib.* 79. þo *3o* him sei dei in rode. *Ib.* 81. (*3e*, *Ib.* 82) maid ber þe swet þing: þer for sso ne les no3t hir flure. *Ib.* 52. *3oe*, *R.Gl.* p. 436. (þe candele is betere bezet þet sereueþ to ane halle and uol of uolk þanne zy þet ne serueþ bote to onlepy manne. *Dan.M.* p. 102).

The East Midland dialect. Forr *3ho* wass swa bifundenn wif patt *3ho* ne mihhte tæmenn. *Orm. Hom.* 129, 130. tuss *3ho* se33de in hire þohht. *Ib.* 235. Siðen *ghe* brocte us to woa. *G.a.Ex.* 237. sum



ghe ðer at, and sum ghe nam. *Ib* 337. ghe (sarra) was nigenti winter hold *Ib*. 1027. ðo lotes wif wente hire a-*gon*, sone ghe stod. *Ib*. 1120. ðe mire is magti, mikel ge swinkeð. *Best*. 235. cave ge haveð to copen in. *Ib*. 251. ðe spinnere on hire swid ge weveð. *Ib*. 462. — In Inglond is sche corouned, þat lady gent. *Brunne*. p. 213. sche tok grete vilanie of þe Londreis alle, whan scho of London went. *Ib*. p. 216. — up she stirte. *Havel*. 228. she saw therinne a lith ful shir. *Ib*. 250. Thanne she hauede brouth the mete. *Ib*. 311. (Occasionally in *Gen. a. Ex.*: Mayden, for sche was mad of man, 235. sche forðran, 2619. Bi ðe desert a-wei che nam. 1227. sge ne bi-spac him neuere a del. 1444.)

The West Midland d. Ho me eschaped. *All. P. A.* 187. Ho is quen. *Ib*. A. 444. To hed hade ho non oþer werle. *Ib*. A. 209. ho lazed neuer. *Ib*. B. 668. coyntly ho entreȝ. *Gaw*. 934. Ho watȝ þe fayrest in felle. *Ib*. 943. (a woman) — sore ho sikes, — and euyr ho crius on heuyn kinge. *Amad*. MS. A. 112, 113. Ho sayd. *Ib*. 128 (sche seyde. *Ib*. Ms. B. and so regul.) — (Occasionally: quoth scho. *All. P. A.* 753. scho *Gaw*. 769, 1259, 1550, 1555, 1556.). — þan studied sche stiffly. *W. a. W.* 128. carfulli gan sche crie. *Ib*. 150. (che couȝde. *Ib*. 116. Nede nadde ȝhe namore. *Ib*. 117. ȝhe couȝde. *Ib*. 118.)

The North d. scho wex a god womman. *Met. H.* p. 15. Yef scho war wis. *Ib*. p. 122. scho es swa fayre þare scho syttes. *Hamp*. 8689. sho tald hir drem. *Met. Hom*. p. 124. sho was ful wlatson *Hamp*. 583. in hir barm sco ledd hir child. *Cur. M.* 228. sco was gretli in dute. *Ib*. 260. O gret travail sco was wari, a palme tre sco sagh hir bi. *Ib*. 283, 284. — In na tym stable can scho stand. *Barb*. IX. 816. Scho set him in sa herd assay. *Ib*. 825.

The old genit. and dative fem. **hire** is in all dialects **hire**, (**hir**, **her**). The Kentish dialect exhibits also often the form **hare**, indicating, I think, merely a broader pronunciation; so in the South. d. sometimes **hure**.

þe leuedy fortune went hare hueȝel eche day. *Dan. M.* p. 76. hi lokede efterward ine hare testament. *Ib*. p. 191. hy was al out of hare wytte. *Ib*. — hure loue. *Laȝ*. I. p. 104. l. t. hure lymes yrne ablode. *St. Marg*. 137.

The accusative fem. is of more interest. Commonly the dative **hire** does duty for it in all dialects, the Old forms **hi**, (**hio**) being restricted to the earliest Southern writers and to the Kentish speech. But we have in the Southern dialect another form which deserves a peculiar attention. It is the curious inflection

**hise** (**hys**, **is**), which certainly is 'of high antiquity although not, as far as I know, found in the Old South. English book-language. It may have existed in the Southern spoken idioms for many hundred years before it made its appearance in literature, and may therefore possibly be connected with the Moeso-Gothic **si**, she, gen. **izos**, dat. **izai**, as Mr. Morris suggests (see „The Reader“ 1864, May 28, p. 689). In Kentish writers of the 14th century this pronoun is rather common. Besides Robert of Gloucester occasionally makes use of the word. I now give examples of the old fem. accusative forms.

þe niȝtingale hi (sc. þo hule) i-seȝ, and hi bi-hold and over-seȝ,  
And þuȝte wel wī of þare hule, For me hi halt lodlich and fule. *O. a. N.* 29, 32. An lerddest hi (sc. the lefti) to don shome an un-riȝt of hire licome. *Ib.* 1051. Senne hys swete and lyketh, wanne a man hi deth and also soure hy bryketh wane he venjaunce y-seth. *Shoreh.* p. 102. To healde hy (sc. the earthe) op. *Ib.* p. 136. — Eneam he heo (sc. þe doȝter) biheȝte. *Laȝ.* I. p. 7. he heo wolde habben to heiȝen are quene. *Ib.* I. p. 8. The niȝtingale heo bi-thohte. *O. a. N.* 937. — he hoe (sc. þe boc) ȝef þare æðelen Ælienor. *Laȝ.* I p.

Thaȝ he by hyre ne ligge nouȝt, other halt hys ine hys house. *Shoreham* p. 77. Ho halt ys (sc. the erthe) op? *Ib.* p. 136. Josephes lhevdy ho hy vand alone him, hi wold do him zeneȝi mid hire, ac he him ledde avse wys and hise vorlet. *Dan. M.* p. 206. Thervore the dyevel playth ofte mid the zenezere ase deth the cat mid the mouse, thanne he his heth ynome, and huanne he heth mid hire longe yplayed thanne he his eth. *Ib.* p. 179. he acsede ate guode wyfman þo he hadde hise ycleped. *Ib.* p. 190. — He is kinges croune nom & sette is vpe rode heved. *R. Gl.* fol. 93 a. (quoted by Morris).

The neuter pronoun **hit** in O.E. is in the South. d. promiscuously spelled **hit** and **it**. (As an orthographical peculiarity we must regard the form **hyȝt** in *Shoreham*). The North and East Midl. dialects have always the abbreviated form **it**, the West Midland **hit**. The genitive **his**, common to all dialects, is in the West Midl. d. often replaced by **hit** used absolutely, as frequently is the case with nouns. \*)

\*) The modern form **its** is of late introduction in the English language.

Hizt mozt be do ine kende water. *Shoreh.* p. 8. thou take hyzt wyth the mouthe. *Id.* p. 23. Wat doth hyzt? *Id.* p. 70. — Forþy þe derk dede see hit is demed ever more, for hit dedez of deþe duren þere zet. *All. P. C.* 1021. hit coostez. *Id.* C. 1033. dere wat3 hit adubbe-ment. A. 180. hit adubbe-ment. A. 120.

We have now to consider the plural of the third person. The Old English form for the nominative was **hi** (**hig** and occasionally **hio**, **heo**), which in the Southern dial. has got many various shapes. The earliest writers use the forms **heo**, **ho**, (**hoe**), and **ha**; furthermore we have the forms **hi**, **hii**, **hy** and **hue** (in the dialect of Herefordshire.) The Northern **thay** is very seldom to be met with in pure South. writers. The East Midland dialect exhibits as well the plural **he** probably arisen out of the Old Engl. **hia** or **hie**, as the forms **thei**, **þe**, **þe33** (in the Ormulum). The latter form is occasionally found in the Old South Engl. version of the New Testament, where it is spelled **þæ3e**\*). In the Genesis and Exodus, where **he** is the regular form, the neuter **it** is often found as a plural, usually with reference to a neuter plural. The West Midland dialect employs the forms **þay**, **þei** and the indecl. neuter **hit**, which sometimes is referred even to feminine nouns. The Northern dialect makes the plural **pai** (Cp. Icel. **þey**, **þær**, **pau**). Chaucer has constantly the form **thei**, **they**.

In the Southern dialect. Wat heo ihoten weoren, & wonene heo comen. *La3.* I. p. 2 (The later text has invariably **hi** or **hii**.) loke þet heo ne lizen. *Ancr. R.* p. 12. heo wepen. *O. a. N.* 929. heo smyton þer a batayle hard. *R. Gl.* p. 12. — ho bilafden of-sla3en. *La3.* II. p.

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The precise date of its appearance in writing cannot be ascertained. Mr. Marsh thinks it could not have been far from the year 1600.

\*) So for instance in Johannes XII, 20: Sume þæ3e wæron hæðene þe foron þat hi3 woldon hi 3ebiddan on þam freolsdæ3e. And Joh. XIV, 12: And he wyncð maran þonne ðæ3e synt. (MS. in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Nr. CXL.)

445. ho both alle. *O. a. N.* 787. So frequently in *Maidan Maregrete* (MS. Trin. Coll. Cantab., Cockayne, p. 34 sqq.) ho bounden hire, p. 37. Alle ho wenden. *Ib.* Ho weren yare awaried. p. 40. Ho gunnen hem biþenke. p. 41. — hoe shulden arisen. *V. a. W.* 264. When hoe shulden thidere recche. *Ib.* 268. — ha leopen on heore feire hors. *La3.* I. p. 228. ha wolden a þare niht faren. *Ib.* I. p. 238. ha nutted hare nome. *St. Mark.* p. 1. alle ha beoð dāhtī. *Ib.* p. 8. — Hi weneth that tha segge soth. *O. a. N.* 842. Hi him nome. *St. Christ* 136. hi beoth so sore agast that hi nute whoder fleo. *Pop. S.* 180. In hevене hi beth i-gistned. *Shoreh.* p. 13. huanne hi techēþ þet guod. *Dan. M.* p. 8. — hy weren seke. *V. a. W.* 41. Huerfore hy byeþ y-cleped yeffes. *Dan. M.* p. 3. — When hue ledeth wicke lyf. *Hend.* 34. Hue eten ant dronken. *Lyr. P.* p. 106. Hue beren huem so swythe he3e. *Ib.* — (And thaye thro were i-fere. *Pop. S.* 185 þaie were amorwe alle idon to deaþe. *La3.* II. 351. l. t.)

In the East Midland dialect. all þe33 shulenn taken itt. *Orm.* Ded. 81. 3iff þe33 all forwerrpenn itt. *Ib.* D. 155. 3wan thei haddin on him leyd here scharpe cloches. *B. a. S.* 365. thei weren ragged. *Ib.* 369. In Wales gan þei upryue. *Brunne.* p. 1. Had þei no styntyng, bot þorgh alle þei ran. *Ib.* — whilk tyme þe were kynges. *Brunne.* p. 25. þe went to þer schippes. *Ib.* p. 39. — so fagen so fueles arn quan he it sen dagen. *G. a. Ex.* 10. (Occasionally: mete quorbi ðei migten liuen. *Ib.* 573.) Alle he arn of one mode. *Best.* 351. in dike he fallen bothe two. *B. a. S.* 240. Alle beon he bliþe. *Horn.* 1. (Commonly, however, the South. hi is used in the romance of *King Horn*; occasionally: Hy metten wiþ Ailmar King, 155. hei schal fonde þe dent of myne honde. 151.) — Cherubin hauet ðe gates sperd; ne sulen it neuere ben undon; — ne sulen it neuermore ben opened. *G. a. Ex.* 385, 387. Longe it (sc. þe ydeles) weren ðor for-hid. *Ib.* 1875. It (sc. ðe froskes) copen. *Ib.* 2974. If viþ or man ðor-one take, It dead ðolen. *Ib.* 3457. ðis mere — haueð manie stefnes, manie and sille, oc it ben wel ille. *Best.* 573. Senene costes in here kinde, alle it ogen to ben us minde. *Ib.* 788.

In the West Midland dialect. Ladies la3en ful loude, þo3 þay lost haden. *Gaw.* 69. þay songen. *All. P. A.* 94. Thay casten there houe. *Amad.* A. 2. (Thof thei be neuer so dere. *Ib.* Ms. B. 13.) What for melodye þat þei made. *W. a. W.* 22. þei ne fond him as faire. *Ib.* 71. — Hit arn þy werkes. *All. P. B.* 71. aungels hit wern. *Ib.* 795. Non semloker burdes, Hit arn ronk, hit arn rype. *Ib.* 869. — Occasionally: He wern of sadde elde, boþe þe wy3e & his wyf. *All. P. B.* 657.

In the Northern dial. þai er ful slaw. *Hamp.* 188. al faur a tale thai telle. *Metr. H.* p. 4. Ogaine þair Laverd þai come on ane. *Ps.* II, 2. Thair mes devoutly gert thai say. *Barb.* IX. 2.

The genitive plural is oftenest used as a possessive pronoun. I therefore treat of it under that head.

The O. E. dative plural **him**, (**heom**) has in the Southern dial. the forms **heom**, **hom**, **ham**, **hem**, **huem** and even **heo**, and **3am**. This last form occurs often in the lat. text of *Lazamon*. The East Midland dial. has **pe33m** and occasionally **hemm** (in the *Ormulum*); in other writers **hem** and sometimes **pam** (*Brunne*). The West Midland dial. makes the plural **hem** or **hom**. The Northern d. **paim**, **pam** (Cp. Icel. **peim**), and the shortened form **am**, \*) (common in the *E. E. Psalter*). *Chaucer* has the Southern **hem**. Some few examples may be quoted.

In the South d. **þe mid heom weren on archen**. *La3.* I. p. 2. (mid **ham**, *ib.* l. t.) **mong heom seoluen**. *ib.* II. p. 4. (a-mong **3am** seolue, l. t.) **Ich schal heom singe**. *O. a. N.* 958. — **Nu fusen we hom to**. *La3.* II. p. 465. **ne sunge ich hom never no longe**. *O. a. N.* 1024. **An bringe hom love tithinge**. *ib.* 1033. — **ich ham wulle atwailden**. *La3.* I. p. 142. (ham, l. t.) **iðe munegunge of ham**. *Ancr. R.* p. 26. **he nas noȝt to ham lef**. *F. a. P.* 64. **Whan þe abbot seef ham fle**. *Cok.* 127. **bouȝe to ham**. *Dan. M.* p. 8. **3ef God ham strengthe ȝive**. *Shoreh.* p. 17. — **fecche hem leches**. *St. Crist.* 190. **Goed hem helpe**. *Dame S.* 210. **no mon hem at stod**. *R. Gl.* p. 15. — **me knelede huem byfore**. *Lyr P.* p. 106. **of thi soule huem ys ethe**. *Hend.* 36. — (**þe fader heo bi-eode**. *La3.* I. p. 14.).

In the East Midland dial. **hu þe33m birrp þe Goddspell underrstanndenn**. *Orm.* D. 49. **To gifenn hemm god lusst**. *ib.* D. 241. **quan day cam hem to**. *G. a. Ex.* 1093. **God hem quoad**. *ib.* 64. **ðis wune he haven hem bitwen**. *Best.* 368. **mykelle force þam with**. *Brunne.* p. 2. **To purueie þam a skulkyng**. *ib.* p. 3.

In the West Midland d. **þay — broȝten bachlereȝ hem wyth**. *All. P. B.* 86. **þis ilk wyȝ, as worȝy hom poȝt**. *Gaw.* 819.

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\*) In a poem "Als y yod on ay mounday" in the Northern dialect intermixed with some Midl. peculiarities, from the beginning of the 14th century (in *The Retrospective Review*, May 1853) we meet with the shortened form **em** instead of **them** in the following passages: **And warn em wel wytouten nay**. p. 309. **And after them sal wip ay be**, and **out em out of alle thair wyles**. p. 310. — Such abbreviated forms are not uncommon in the Scandinavian tongues.

In the Northern d. his wordes by þam may be sayd here. *Hamp.* 289. and in þam es na schame. *Ps.* CXVIII, 165. Sum of tham es levid all naked. *Minot.* p. 3. — Kend thaim the way. *Metr. Hom.* p. 10. He forgaþ thaim thair dathe bathe. *ib.* p. 18. Prik we than on thaim hardely. *Barb.* IX. 61. — With am wone. *Ps.* I, 6. Yhelde til am. *ib.* XXVII. 4. In middes of am. *ib.* LIV, 16.

The O. E. accusative plural **hi** is in the Southern dialect **hi** and **heo**, but oftenest the dative takes their place. Of a peculiar interest is the form **his** (**hise**, **is**) which is rather common in Kentish writers and in the East Midland dial. (**is**) where it often coalesces with pronouns and with verbs. With regard to the etymology of this pronominal form, fully as difficult to deal with as the homogeneous form used for the accus. fem. sing., I must refer to the explanation by Dr. Guest (*Ph. Soc. Proceed.* I. p. 283). This learned critic points at the Moeso-Gothic **eis**, acc. **ins** as the source of the word. Mr. Mätzner (*Alt. E. Spr.* p. 57, footnote) suggests the O. H. G. and M. H. G. **se** (**sið**), which wassome times shortened into **s** and added to a preceding word, just as is the case with the East Midland **is**. As the tendency of language is to drop and cast away, not to add and prefix, the opinion of Dr. Guest is preferable. Besides this form the East M. d. uses the datives **þezm**, **þam**, **hem** for the accus. plural. So the West Midland dial. exhibit only the dative forms **hem**, **hom**. Also in the Northern dialect, the dative **þam**, **paim** is the exclusive form. Chaucer has always **hem**. I here only give some instances of the proper accusative forms used in the Southern and East Midland writers.

In the South. d. Wenestu hi bringe so litzliche to Godes riche. *O. a. N.* 852. Thu bihaiteþ hi feorre. *ib.* 1320. Theoves hi (sc. wepne) beredh an honde. *ib.* 1370. Flesches luste hi maketh slide. *ib.* 1388. Thu hi herest. *ib.* 1516. þe zung monkes þat hi (sc. þe nunnes) seeth. *Cok.* 159. he with-stent hi alle. *Shoreh.* p. 14. þe foend fondeth hy so. *ib.* p. 16. By-hoveth that he healde hy wyth all hys bysynsyse. *ib.* p. 92. — His broþer heo him wolde binimen. *Laz.* I. p. 18. (zam, I. t.). on feowre he heo to-dælde. *ib.* p. 33. feolan men heo ne mazen foreleten. *ib.* I. p. 57. 3if thu i-sihst heo to the

teo. *O. a. N.* 1280. That thi dweole song heo ne for-lerc. *Ib.* 924. — foryif us oure dettes, so stronge so we hes haven. *Pater Noster.* (The MS. from the 13th cent. *Rel. Antiq.* I. p. 169.) When hii vorsoke is (sc. þe londes) & yor slewþe & to none defense ne come þo we þora chiualerie out of hor poer is nome. *R. Gl.* fol. 60 b. (quoted by Mr. Morris.) 3ef he hys (sc. Godes hestes) breketh. *Shoreh.* p. 90. 3ef thou hys halst. *Ib.* in ston ich wot that he hys wrot. *Ib.* p. 92. to vi3te wyþ þe hal3en, an his to ouercome. *Dan. M.* p. 15. zuo uele deles, þet onneaþe me may hise telle. *Ib.* p. 17. þazles þe proude hise (sc. þe yefþes) zelf þe þe dyenle. *Ib.* p. 24. (and so often in this author.)

In the East Midland d. Ðat he ne cunne is (sc. þe fet steppes) finden. *Best.* 12. Ðe coc and te capun ge (Ðe fox) feccheÐ ofte in Ðe tun, and te gandre and te gos, bi Ðe necke and bi Ðe noz, haleÐ is to hire hole. *Ib.* 394. Lia calde is Gad and Asser. *G. a. Ex.* 1702. wiÐ quam Ðu is findes. *Ib.* 1768. ne fond he is nogt. *Ib.* 1770. He is for-soc. *Ib.* 1833. Diep he is dalf under an ooc. *Ib.* 1873. — And combined with pronouns: Alle wes ogen to haven. *Best.* 786. Vndelt hes seide quorso hes tok. *G. a. Ex.* 943.

Before leaving the personal pronouns, I think it proper here to mention the universal usage in Early English writers of combining personal pronouns with verbs. In the Southern dialect this practice is extremely common. So we find the first person sing. coalescing with a following verb or fastened on to the preceding verbal form. Furthermore, the pronoun **thū**, **thou** is often added to the 2nd pers. sing. pres. ind. of all verbs. By assimilation we then get the combination **st**, in which **t** may be the final letter of the verbal form, or the initial letter of the pronoun. Sometimes even the plural is combined with a verb. In the East Midland dialect we chiefly remark the coalescence of the neuter **it** and the plural **is** with verbs. The West Midland writers seldom employ these agglutinate forms. In the dial. of Shropshire, however, we often find the second person fastened on to the verb. In the Northern dial. the coalescence of the pronominal forms **thou** and **it** with the verb is not uncommon.

In the Southern dial. ichabbe isehen þen feond. *St. Mark.* p. 11. An hendy hap ichabbe y-hent. *Lyr. P.* p. 28. icham mi

lauwerdes lomb. *St. Mark.* p. 12. ichulle biteachen mi bodi. *Ib.* p. 5.  
 ichul zou telle. *XV S.* 9. ichul. *F.a.P.* 28. ycholle *R.Gl.* p. 357.  
 — Nullich iheren. *St. Mark.* p. 6. nulli. *Dame S.* 295. nuly.  
*Lyr. P.* p. 29. also havi Godes grith. *Dame S.* 267. navy the none  
 harmes to hethe. *Lyr. P.* p. 37. Fol bletheli willi don for the.  
*Dame S.* 35. and often. That woldi don for non thing. *Ib.* 88. ni  
 mahtich understonden. *St. Mark.* p. 1. ne trowy none that nere  
 trewe. *Lyr. P.* p. 46. — hwet godd heiestu? *St. Mark.* p. 4. fe-  
 lestu. *Ib.* p. 7. Hou troustu. *Dame S.* 370. wi axestu? *O. a. N.*  
 711 (So in many combinations in this poem: dostu, 563. wostu, 716.  
 atvtestu, 751. telstu, 791. wenestu, 852. nevestu, 896. wi-  
 testu, 1354. havestu, 1666. schaltu, 209. wultu, 1667. navestu,  
 1668, and so on) nelton. *Sarm.* 34. hertou. *V. a. W.* 120. wolton.  
*Ib.* 186. nelton. *Ib.* 189. hastou. *Pop. S.* 324. fondestou. *St.*  
*James.* 49. whi tranaillestu so, whi biddestou me so? *St. Lucy.*  
 41, 42. — wolny nulni hi sul fle. *XV Signa.* 173. (woln hi, nuln  
 hi; velint, nolint.)

In the East Midland d. lamech droge is arwe ner, and letet  
 flegen of ðe streng. *G. a. Ex.* 479. Dais and nigtes stodet so. *Ib.*  
 590. Rachel — kiddit to hire fader. *Ib.* 1654. Sarrai wuldet nogt  
 ðolen. *Ib.* 969. al ðat nigt he sogten ðor ðe dure, and fundend neuere  
 mor. *Ib.* 1082. — He settes (sc. ðe sterres) in ðe firmament. *G. a. Ex.*  
 135. Two kides he fette and brogtes hire. *Ib.* 1535. Rachel caldes  
 Dan, Nephelim. *Ib.* 1700. Moyses askes up-nam, and warpes vt til  
 heuene-ward. *Ib.* 3025. on wind cam fro westen, and ðo opperes nam,  
 and warpes ouer in-to ðe se. *Ib.* 3097.

In the West Midland d. seidestow i was here? *Will. a. W.* 256.  
 so schaltow gete goddes love. *Ib.* 329. (And with an inserted s; alle  
 þine frendes for dedes faire schalstow quite. *Ib.* 314.) þe worse bestow  
 neuere. *Ib.* 333.

In the Northern d. Mi keper ertou. *Ps.* CXVIII, 114. Rightwis  
 ertou. *Ib.* 137. Set am hindward saltou. *Ib.* XX, 13. askes er-tow  
 now, and in to askes agayn turn sal-tou. *Hamp.* 424, 425. Saltou  
 won. *Minot* p. 7. whider wiltou fare. *Ib.* — a trew tokyn ist we  
 shalle be savyd alle. *Town. M.* p. 83. His wille thus ist. *Ib.* p. 166.  
 thay went sodanly or any man wyst. *Ib.* p. 144. thou spart. *Ib.*  
 p. 91. Godes forbot thou sparte. *Ib.* p. 311.

#### POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.

The Old English speech framed these pronouns  
 by treating the genitive of the 1st and 2nd personal pro-  
 nouns as a nominative and declining it like an ad-



jective. The genitive of the third person is used unchanged. In Early English the possessives are also identical in form with the genitive of the pers. pronoun, but only the Southern dialect retains old inflections. The other dialects discriminate merely between number. Common to all dialects is the singular of the 1st and 2nd person, **min** and **this**, or often **mi** and **thi** (both forms used promiscuously before nouns whether the following word begins with a vowel or a consonant).\*) I need therefore give no examples. But the earliest Southern writers exhibit some of the old inflectional forms worth noticing. So we find the genitive masc. and neuter **mines** and **thines**, the dative and accus. **mine**, **minne**, **thine**, **thinne**, and the genitive and dative of the feminine, **mire** and **thire** (the letter **n** in the Old forms being dropped). The 3rd person sing. has been mentioned before. In the plural we have in all dialects for the first pers. **ure**, **oure**, and for the second **eoure**, **ore**, **3oure**, **3ure**, **gure**, spelled differently in different writers, but the Northern and West Midland dialects exhibit often forms with a final **-s**, when used absolutely, as **urs**, **3oures**. In the 3rd person plural our dialects in general show us the same differences in forms as those which I have already spoken of with reference to the personal pronouns. Thus the Southern

\*) Mr. Morris, the distinguished editor of Early Eng. MSS., in his *Introduct.* to *Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyte*, p. XLVI., footnote, says that **min** and **þin** are used before words beginning with a vowel; **mi** and **thi** before a consonant. This rule, I think, holds not good with regard to Early English writers, but is pretty regularly followed by Chaucer and his contemporaries. So for instance in E. E.: *bote þu min lare do. Laz. I. p. 30. al min blisse. Ib. III. p. 121 (l. t.) don ich wole þin lore. Ib. I. p. 30 (l. t.) above thin heved. Pop. S. 13. And to min louerdess bofte bi-crauen. Gaw. 1378. Min Drihtin. Orm. Ded. 16. min word. Ib. 45. þiss iss min sune. Ib. Hom. 10682. þin sune. Ib. I. 44. But: þi sune. Ib. 13514.*

dialect makes its possessive from the Old South English *hira* (*heora*), varied in many ways, as, *heore*, *hore*, *hare*, *here*, *hire* and *huere*. The East Midland dialect has *þeȝȝr* and *here*, and occasionally *þeȝȝress*. But the West Midland dialect, although using the personal pronoun *thay* for the 3rd pers. pl., frames its possessive like the Southern *here* and *hor*. Sometimes, however, we meet with the form *thayr*, and even, *heres*, *hores*, and *payres* with a final *-s*. The Northern dialect has only the forms *thare* and *thayres* (Cp. Icel. *þeirra*). Chaucer exhibits the following possessives: *min*, *mi*; *thin*, *thi*; *our*, *oure*; *your*, *youre*; *here*, *hire* (*her*, *hir*).

allie  
her

In the Southern d. *fainen mines lauerdes & is fæirliche cume. La3. I. p. 152. mines drihtes wille. Ib. III. p. 295. — help mine laurd. La3. I. p. 30. ær he ihere minne horn. Ib. I. p. 34. — þe oðer wes mire suster sune. La3. I. p. 358. mire moder bosme. Ib. II. p. 499. — I mire þeode. La3. I. p. 22. mid alle mire mihten. Ib. I. p. 30. — ich eam þines fader sweine. La3. I. p. 149. þe wes þines cunnes bone. Ib. p. 269. — of þine cunne. La3. I. p. 53. leoue þinne broðer. Ib. I. p. 216. — þire suster sune. La3. III. p. 122. — to þire hond. La3. III. p. 49. on thire side. O. a. N. 429. mid thire stevene. Ib. 913. — (Occasionally in the plural: þire hæhre monne children. La3. II. p. 519.).*

*Heore four wiues. La3. I. p. 2. (hire, l. t.) he heora monredne mid monscipe on-feng. Ib. I. p. 18. (hire, l. t.). also we of heoren weoren. Ib. I. p. 178. for hora muchela bursten. Ib. p. 43. Of hore sunnen. O. a. N. 856. Goed hem helpe at hore nede. Dame S. 210. hoere maister curtiler. V. a. W. 272. aȝein ham ant hare wake lusten. St. Marh. p. 14. har þoȝte; har lif. Sarm. 19. har stides for to fille. F. a. P. 17. wiþ har mund and wiþ har þoȝt. XV. S. 78. men halt har cheping. Ten. C. 27. þo þet — lokeþ holyliche hare herten, and hare bodyes, and hare mouþes. Dan M. p. 74. here herte is kynde. R. Gl. p. 31. Riȝt amidward here houssonge. V. a. W. 274. þe little þyues þet steleþ — of hire neȝebore hire capons, hennen, frut of hire gardins. Dan M. p. 38. Huere foreward wes to fon. Lyr. P. p. 41. The ryche ladies in huere bour. Ib. p. 105.*

In the East Midland dial. *þurh þeȝȝre sinne. Orm. D. 84. For þeȝȝre sawle nede. Ib. 148. Forȝife hemm here sinne. Ib. 86.*

Hise sunes and here wifes dre. *Gen. a. Ex.* 624. (Occas. Till e33þer þe33res herte. *Orm.* 2506.)

In the West Midland dial. In god fayth, hit is yowres *Gaw.* 1037. — fele hit foyned wyth her fete. *Gaw.* 428. Now wyl I of hor seruise say yow no more. *Ib.* 130. — That partut neuyr thayre lyue. *Amad.* A. 624. — For hores is the heuen-ryche. *All. P. C.* 14. as hy3ly as heuen wer þayres. *Ib.* B. 1527. vche mon tented hys, & þay two tented þayres. *Gaw.* 1019.

In the Northern d. A man of thair gains an of ur If urs mai him win in stur, That thai be urs & thair airs; If thai win urs that we be thairs. *Curs. M.* Cott. MS. fol. 42. (quoted by Morris). ye knyghtes of oures. *Townel. M.* p. 151. Syr, Godes and yowrs. *Ib.* p. 76. Both to you and to youres. *Ib.* p. 151. Thai and tharis maid sic debat. *Barb.* IX. 382. And in the phrase: mangre tharis, *Ib.* IX, 351, 535. —

#### DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

From the O.E. demonstrative masc. þēs (þis), fem. þeos, neut. þis, the modern this, we have in the Southern E.E. dialect the masc. þes, or more commonly þis, fem. þeos, þues, and the neut. þis, which are declined in much the same way as in the Old speech. Thus we find in the sing. the masc. gen. þises, the acc. þisne, þerne (peculiar to the Kentish dialect), and the dat. þise, þisse; further the fem. gen. and dat. þyssere. In the plural we remark the gen. þissere and the dat. þisson. Many of these old inflections are preserved in the Kentish writers up to the very end of our period. The other dialects have for the singular only the form þis, not capable of being inflected; furthermore the Northern dialect uses the neuter þat, originally the neuter article, as a demonstrative. The Southern plural forms are þeos, þas, þos, þis or þise, answering to the O.E. þās. The East Midland dial. has þes, þis and for the oblique cases þese, þise. The West Midland dial. exhibits the forms þise, þose, þos. But the Northern dialect has some quite peculiar forms of its own, namely þir, þer (Cp. Icel. þeir, þær), and in the Lowland dial. thai. The plural þise is very uncommon in

pure North. writers. In the following quotations I restrict myself to pointing out such forms as are peculiar to the different dialects.

In the Southern d. þes duc mid his drihte. *La3.* I. p. 5. þes nome. *Ancr. R.* p. 170. þes yefde. *Dan. M.* p. 150. þes boȝ heȝ monie tuygges. *Ib.* p. 41. — Ich habbe þisses folkes king. *La3.* I. p. 35. for þisses londes monnen. *Ib.* I. p. 283. þisses hweolpes nurice. *Ancr. R.* p. 198. — I þisse londe. *La3.* II. p. 153. to þissen londe. *Ib.* II. p. 176. In thisse manere. *Pop. S.* 194. Ich the forȝewe at thisse nede. *V.a.W.* 225. ine þise boc. *Dan. M.* p. 94. of þise boc. *Ib.* p. 2. — al þesne suð ende he heold. *La3.* I. p. 291. siggeð stondinde þesne psalm. *Ancr. R.* p. 34. sigge stondinde þesne vreisun. *Ib.* p. 44. þorh þisne ilke game. *La3.* II. p. 176. (l. t.) ich scholde þisne day euere abide. *St. Ken.* 141. he gaf þisne ring. *St. Edw.* 14. þerne gardyn zette þe greate gardyner. *Dan. M.* p. 94. Me ssel þerne mete eft chywe. *Ib.* p. 111. þerne ansuere ich lete to hem. *Ib.* p. 214. Ich habbe þerne paske ywylned, þet is to zigge þerne dyaf. *Ib.* p. 143. For thou areredst therne storm. *Shoreh.* p. 161. — þeos olde cwene was so wis. *La3.* I. p. 212 (l. t.) þeos riwle is cherité. *Ancr. R.* p. 2. Theos hule tho heo this i-herde. *O.a.N.* 1665. þas wise quene. *La3.* I. p. 270. (þes wise cwene, l. t.) þus is þas burh i-uaren. *Ib.* I. p. 87. Thos hule abod fort hit was eve. *O.a.N.* 41. — þissere leodes folk. *La3.* I. p. 404. Locrine þat was þissere leod king. *Ib.* I. p. 104. (l. t.). — Vnder þissere blisse. *La3.* I. p. 104. To thyssere joyen. *Shoreh.* p. 126. The tokne of thyssere newe. *Ib.* 53. By thysser ylke speche. *Ib.* 96. in thyssere joye we scholde by-louken. *Ib.* 121. — wide ȝond þas leode. *La3.* I. p. 2. he seh þeos seli meiden. *St. Marh.* p. 2. Ac lete we awei thos cheste. *O.a.N.* 177.

þeos weoren heora sibbe men. *La3.* I. p. 58. þeos feower ferdan. *Ib.* þeos briddes habbeð nestes. *Ancr. R.* p. 134. Brutus — þas word seide. *La3.* I. p. 29. al þos watris. *XVS.* 119. thuse foure. *Pop. S.* 123. þæs tidende him weren læðe. *La3.* I. p. 44. þes word he sendeð. *Ib.* I. p. 21. thes shulen ben. *Dame S.* 275. þes montis and þes hille. *XVS.* 86. þes weoren þa færeste men. *La3.* II. p. 152. This clerkes. *Pop. S.* 54. þise byeþ þe capiteles. *Dan. M.* p. 1. Thyse manere sennes sevene. *Shoreh.* p. 115. — ich æm þissere leodene king. *La3.* II. p. 196. þissere leodene kinge. *Ib.* III. p. 182. — þe king sende after þisse maidenen. *La3.* I. p. 116. bi allen þeos eorlen. *Ib.* I. p. 288. At þisse worde. *O.a.N.* 750.

In the East Midland dial. ðo seiden ðis angeles to loth. *Gen. a. Ex.* 1053. ðis two dremes boðen ben on. *Ib.* 2125. follȝhen þise

mahhtes. *Orm.* 4579. Euerile of ðese. *Gen. a. Ex.* 941. he ðat ðis lettres wrot. *Ib.* 2527.

In the West Midl. d. by-þonde þise waweþ. *All. P. A.* 287. þese properteþ. *Ib. A.* 751. quen þose bryddeþ her wyneþ bete. *Ib. A.* 93. he sayde to þos. *Ib. A.* 514.

In the Northern dialect. alle þir. *Hamp.* 800. þir takens. *Ib.* 828, 4041, 4043. þir worldes, *Ib.* 1006. þir clerkes. *Ib.* 1281, 1682. in þir days, *Ib.* 2512. of þir sex poyntes. *Ib.* 2708. þir er þa hede syns, *Ib.* 3362. ilkan of þir. *Ib.* 3369. in any of þir syns, *Ib.* 3375. þas ten er þir *Ib.* 3400. Thir wordes. *Metr. Hom.* p. 9. Thir fair wimmin, *Ib.* p. 15. Thir bernes, *Ib.* p. 23. of thir wers. *Ib.* Thir takeninges. *Ib.* p. 24. Bitwix thir twa, *Ib.* p. 36. Thir tre tales. *Ib.* p. 73. The galay-men — thanked god of thir tithandes. *Min.* p. 10. þir kinges. *Curs. M.* 55. þir thre giftes. *Ib.* 135. thir twa fyrst bataillis. *Barb.* IX. 183. — þer clerkes, *Hamp.* 961, 983, 3392, 3411. with þer, *Ib.* 461. of þer four. *Ib.* 1830. þer er Bernard wordes. *Ib.* 2548. þer ten. *Ib.* 3410. alle þer takens. *Ib.* 5301. of twa of þere four. *Ib.* 1832. — thai mysteris. *Barb.* IX. 8. thai rowtis. *Ib.* 18. — (alle þis. *Hamp.* 8990. in þis partes. *Ib.* 433. þis kinges þre. *Curs. M.* 10. All thise Inglis-men. *Min.* p. 7. Thise fowles. *Townel. M.* p. 33. (often.) þes clerkes. *Hamp.* 5844. alle þes, *Ib.* 8987. alle þese. *Ib.* 8991. in alle þese, *Ps.* LXXVII, 32. of alle þeis. *Ib.* 9575.)

The Old English definite pronoun *se, seo, þæt, the*, that, is in Early English also used as a demonstrative pronoun, but oftenest as the definite article. The earliest Southern writers exhibit most of the Old inflections changed in many ways, as, in the sing. the nomin. masc. *þe*, fem. *þeo*, *þo*, and neut. *þat*; the genit. masc. and neut. *þæs*, *þas*, *þes*, *þeos*, (O.E. *þæs*); the dat. masc. and n. *þan*, *þon*, *þane*, *þeone* (O.E. *þām*) the gen. and dat. fem. *þære*, *þære*, *pere*, (O.E. *þære*); the acc. masc. *pene*, *þane*, *þæne*, *þenne*, etc. (O.E. *þōne*); and in the plural nom. and acc. *þa*, *þeo*, *þai* (O.E. *þā*); the gen. *þære*, *þare* (O.E. *þēra*), and the dat. *þan*, (O.E. *þām*). Often the indeclinable article *þe* is employed for all cases. The Midland dialects use the indeclinable article *ðe* for the singular and plural, the West Midland dial., however, also often exhibiting the plural *þo*, which in the East Midland dial. is only used as a pronoun. The Northern dial. likewise employs the singular *þe* and the plural

**þa.** In the West Midl. and Northern dialects the neuter **that** is always a demonstrative pronoun.

In the Southern dialect. *þe fader* *La3.* I. p. 14. *þeo wimon*, *Ib.* I. p. 13. *þo ule song*. *O. a. N.* 26. *þat maiden*. *La3.* I. p. 7. — *þes he3es kinges*. *La3.* I. p. 3. *þes childes broder*. *Ib.* I. p. 10. *Heo beoð þes deofles gongmen*. *Ancr. R.* p. 84. *to telde þæs kinges*. *La3.* I. p. 35. *þeos kinges broder*. *Ib.* I. p. 206. *þas kinges sunen*. *Ib.* II. p. 117. — *Vt of þan fehte*. *La3.* I. p. 5. *to than hoven kinge*. *Dame S.* 860. *He com of than adel eye*. *O. a. N.* 138. *fram bigynninge to þan ende*. *St. Ken.* 198. *a þon londe*. *La3.* I. p. 6. *inne þane fehte*. *Ib.* I. p. 10. *a þeon time*. *Ib.* I. p. 31. *for þene almiten godd*. *Ib.* I. p. 3. *to then inne*. *Dame S.\** 19. — *grette þen alde king*. *La3.* I. p. 7. *He — thene vox i-herde*. *V. a. W.* 113. *he sei thene wolf*. *Ib.* 281. *þane deþ ic iseo*. *St. Marg.* 55. *he nemnede þane deuel*. *St. Cr.* 26. *iseche than ilkes song*. *O. a. N.* 742. *þe guode overcomeþ — þane dyevel*. *Dan M.* p. 167. — *þare quene scip*. *La3.* I. 199. *Hit was þare hule earding-stowe*. *O. a. N.* 28. *þere quene cun*. *La3.* I. p. 15. — *To þare sæ*. *La3.* I. p. 5. *Thu3te wel wl of thare hule*. *O. a. N.* 31. *Ine thare crybbe* *Shoreh.* p. 127. *kneolinde to þer eorðe*. *Ancr. R.* p. 24. *To dere blisse* *Mor. O.* 198. *that oreyson of ther holy byleve*. *Shoreh.* p. 41. — *þaie þat hit ische*. *La3.* I. 274 (l. t.). *þaie þat her weore a-boue*. *Ib.* II. p. 4 (l. t.). *helpiþ þai þat habiþ nede*. *Sarm.* 46. — *to þare cnihten hinne*. *La3.* I. p. 142 (l. t.). *breken þere Freinsce trumen*. *Ib.* III. p. 108. — *to þane castlen*. *La3.* I. p. 19. *in þan mountes*. *Ib.* I. p. 20 (l. t.). *sprange of thane wonden*. *Shoreh.* p. 80.

The Midland dialects. *Alle ðo, de of hem sule cumen*. *G. a. Ex.* 305. *ðo, ðe wunen a-buuen in heuone*. *Ib.* 332. — *þo giftes*. *Gaw.* 68. *þo hadelez*. *Ib.* 829. *þo ladyes*. *Ib.* 950.

The Northern dial. *þa wardes of þe ceté* *Hamp.* 9087. *þa yhates of heven*. *Ib.* 9096. *Quat alle tha godspelles saies*. *Metr. H.* p. 5.

#### RELATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.

About these pronouns there is not much to say, the dialectic differences being chiefly restricted to orthographical peculiarities. So the definite article is used as a relative in all dialects. The Old interrogative pronoun *hwá, hwæt* is in E.E. used also as a relative, and is in the Southern dial. for the nom. masc. and fem. *hua*, *huo*, neut. *huet*, *huat*, *wat*; gen. *huas*, (*huos*, *wos*); dat. *huam* (*hwom*, *wom*), and acc. *huan* (*wan*, *huam*). The East Midland dialect has *wha*, *whatt* (and the relat.

*patt*) in the *Ormulum*; further *quo*, *quatt*, gen. *quase*, *was*, dat. acc. *quam*, *wham*\*). The West Midland dialect exhibits the forms *who* or *quo*; gen. *whose*, *quose*; dat. and acc. *whom*, *wham*, *quom*. The Northern dial. uses as well the forms *wha*, *qua*; *whase*, *quase*; *wham*, *quaim*, as the indeclinable *that*. Further we remark in the Southern and Midland writers the form *whilk*, answering to O.E. *hwylc*, which in the Northern dial. is spelled *quilk*. In this latter dialect we often meet with the relative particle *at* (Cp. *Ícel.* *at*), not to be found in Southern writers. Some few examples out of many will suffice.

The Southern d. *Nuten næwere þæs gumen — wha her lauerd is. La3. I. p. 197. þou nost wo his hire fader. Ib. I. p. 98. (l. t.) þis boc hatte huo þe writ Ayenbite of Inwyt. Dan. M. p. 5. tellen wat heo ihoten weoren. La3. I. p. 2. askede wad sorwe. R. Gl. p. 33. huet þet hit by. Dan. M. p. 9. — wuste — whes sune he weore. La3. II. p. 293. þaz hi ne wyte, huas þet hi byeþ. Dan. M. p. 38. — bæd heom ræden him ræd, whæm he mihte bi-tæche. La3. II. p. 51. þe king heom æxede ræd, wham he mihte bitæchen. Ib. II. 57. (wam, Ib. l. t.). he is ine grat peril, to huam alle triacle went in to uenym. Dan. M. p. 16. of hwam. Pop. S. 120. — to whan þis tocne wule ten. La3. I. p. 389. þorh wan his bane he hadde. Ib. I. p. 326. (l. t.).*

The East Midland dialect. *wha wass þatt time kaserrking.Orm. 9445. Quo seide ðe dat gu wer naked? Gen. a. Ex. 359. Quo made domme, and quo specande? Ib. 2821. Jiff þu shæwesst hemm what læn iss 3arrkedd hemm inn heoffne. Orm. 1518. God sag bi-fore quat after cam. Gen. a. Ex. 171. wat is tat? Best. 110. I þatt tatt tu þez3m shæwesst. Orm. 1500. all þatt lape flocc þatt iss þurh niþ forrblendedd. Ib. Ded. 76. — Bi quase read haue ge ðis sowt? G. a. Ex. 2870. ðis der, wos kinde we haven told gu her. Best. 764. — himm whamm he stod inn to foll3henn. Orm. 6521. þurh whamm 3ho was wiþþ childe. Ib. 1976. wið quam ðu is findes. G. a. Ex. 1768. for quuam mani man is for-loren. Ib. 696.*

The West Midland d. *He — con studie, quo walt þer most renoun. Gaw. 231. quo mozt remwe? All. P. A. 427. quo con rede? Ib. 708. Quat a mon. Amad. Ms. A. 149. (what maner mon was he? Ib.*

\*) In sentences as the following: *Suilk ribaudie þei led, þei gaf no tale of wham, Brunne, p. 220*, the pronoun, answering to O.E. *hwá*, aliquis, has the sense of 'any body'.

Ms. B.) — quos deth so he dezyre he dreped als faste. *All P. B.* 1648. — to wham. *All P. A.* 131. my lady of quom Jesu con spryng. *Ib.* 453. — Bolde bredden þer-inne, baret þat lofden. *Gaw.* 21. þe fyrst word þat he warp. *Ib.* 224.

In the Northern dial. in þi teld wha sal wone? *Ps.* XIV, 1. Quha had bene by. *Barb.* IX. 32. Then mai ye se on quat maner. *Metr. H.* p. 20. thai wyst nocht quhat gat to get away. *Barb.* IX. 543. — God — whas myght and wytte of him selue was tan. *Hamp.* 23. — Til wham he has gyven witte and skille. *Hamp.* 91. In wham mikel hoped I. *Ps.* XL. 10. Our lefdi bodi, of quaim Crist to fleys. *Metr. H.* p. 122. In quaim many il man sal sin. *Ib.* p. 124. — Of hend of mi faa And at ere flyhand me. *Ps.* XXX, 16. þai salle never fele na thyng Bot þat at salle be at þair lykyng. *Hamp.* 7984. That at is dry the erth may seym. *Townel. M.* p. 2. For that at comys not tyte. *Ib.* p. 87. (In the West Midland d. dotz þat at 3e moun. *All. P. A.* 535.)

#### INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

To this class of pronouns grammarians usually refer a great store of words, the limits being loose and indeterminate. I am obliged here to content myself with pointing out only a few of those forms which exhibit anything peculiarly interesting.

The Old English indefinite **man** answers to the modern one, they (Cp. Scandinavian, Germ. *man*). This form (both in sing. and pl.) is also used in the Northern and West Midl. E. E. dialects, the East Midland dial. having as well **man** as **men** followed by a verb in the singular number. But the Southern dialect employs constantly the shortened form **me**, which is found as early as in the Old English Chronicle s. a. 1110\*). Dr. Guest (Phil. Soc. Proceed. I. p. 151) considers this

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\*) See 'The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.' Ed. by Benj. Thorpe, London, 1861. I. p. 369, where we find the following: *Dises geares me began ærost to weorcenne an þam niwan mynstre on Ceortessege.* Further s. a. 1137, p. 382: *Me hengeð up bi the fet and smoked heom mid ful smoke, me hengeð bi the þumbes, other bi the hefed, and hengen bryniges on her fet. Me dide cnotted strenges abuton here hæned.*



indefinite as the second element of the latin *nemo* and *homo*, and consequently also of the O. E. *guma* (a man) which he asserts to be identical with *homo*. There can, however, be no doubt that the word *me* is merely an abbreviated form of the older *men*, the falling away of the final *-n* being extremely common in the South. dialect in all sorts of words.\*) Chaucer uses as well *me* as *men*.

In the South. d. Wælsce *men me heom hateð. Laz. I. p. 90. me droh to deaðe cristes icorne. St. Marh. p. 2. me seiþ upon ancren. Ancre. R. p. 88. me tolde that he was gon. Dame S. 76. Castel and burz me mai i-winne. O. a. N. 766. as me mai to sothe i-seo. Pop. S. 20. me clupeþ hym Apelyng. R. Gl. p. 354. ne fond me so strong a man. St. Crist. 2. me telleþ þat þe deuel com. St. Marg. 157. Zuo uele deles, þet onneape me may hise telle. Dan M. p. 17.*

The Midland and North. d. Forrþi mann birrþ beon ȝeornfull. *Orm.* 2697. Swa þatt menn mihhte winnenn her. *Ib.* 643. Man og to luuen ðat rimes ren. *Gen. a. Ex. 1.* ðus it is on boke set, ðat man clepeð Fisiologet. *Best.* 310. men callið it ðe dede se. *G. a. Ex. 750.* men seið. *Ib.* 1293, 1295. — ȝe ar a sleper vn-slyȝe, þat mon may slyde hider. *Gaw.* 1209 \*\*). if mon kinnes yow hom to knowe. *Ib.* 1484.

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\*) The indefinite *me* is occasionally found in old High German and in Netherlandish. (See Grimm: Deutsche Gramm. IV p. 221.) Further in the Frisic, where it is often used as a suffix (Cp. Wordenbock op de Gedichten van Gijsbert Japicx. 1824. p. 286); and in Low German (see Platt-Deutsches Wörterbuch von Prof. Dähnert. 1781. p. 296.)

\*\*) Mr. Rich. Morris, to whom we are indebted for so many valuable and important remarks upon the Early English dialects, has been led astray with regard to the use of the word *me* in the West Midl. dialect. He says in his Preface to the Alliter. Poems (p. XXVIII.): "Me in the South. writers is used as an indefinite pronoun of the third person, and represents our *one*, but in the present poems it is of all persons, and is placed in apposition with the subject of the sentence corresponding to our use of *myself*, *thyself*, *himself* etc.; as, He sendes me þys = He himself sends this; He meteȝ me þis good man = He himself meets this good man; Now sweȝe me þider swyftly = Now go (thou) thyself thither swiftly." In these passages the word *me* has nothing to do with

— This es the strenthe of our godspel, Als man wit Inglis tung may tel. *Metz. H.* p. 22. ma fendes than man mai nefen. *ib.* p. 29. Here may men se, als writen es, mikel of mans wrechednes, and mykel mare yhit may men telle. *Hamp.* 924, 926. Swa may men mette a man with-oute. *ib.* 1496.

Corresponding forms to the Old. Engl. *ælc*, each, are in the Southern dialect *ælc*, *alc*, (*ilche*), or in later writers commonly with elision of the letter *l*, *ech*, *euch*, in the East Midland dialect *ilc*, *ilk*\*); in the West Midland dial. *vch* and in the Northern dialect *ilc*, *ilk*. These indefinites are pure adjectives and are consequently capable of declension. Often we find them in combination with the following indefinite article, and then mostly used substantively. Thus in the South. dial. *ælcan*, *echon*, in the East Midl. d. *ilc an*, *ilc-on*, in the West Midl. d. *vchon*, *vcha*, (*ylka*) and in the North. d. *ilkan* (subst.) and *ilka* (adj.). Furthermore we remark the compound *euerilk*, *euerench*, (O.E. *æfre*, *ever*, and *ælc*), whence modern English every. Also to this indefinite the article *an*, *on*, *a*, is often added; Chaucer has the forms *eche*, *everich*, *everychon*.

In the Southern d. *ælc* hefde his iwillen. *Laz.* I. 85. (*ecche*, l. t.) *ælche* monne *ib.* I. p. 106. *alch* mon. *ib.* *alc* god mon. *ib.* II. p. 197. *golde*, þe *elche* bar an honde. *ib.* I. p. 77. (Occasionally: þat gleo of *ilche* londe. *ib.* I. p. 298.) *euch* mon. *O. a. N.* 973. *euch* side. *Sarm.* 53. in *euche* londe. *V. a. W.* 101. *ech* del. *O. a. N.* 1025. *ech* of hem. *Pop. S.* 27. in *eche* ende. *R. Gl.* p. 2. *ech* man cristen. *Dan. M.* p. 11. þise ten hestes byþ to *echen* þet heþ scele. *ib.* — *ælcan* to oðer mænden of heore broðer. *Laz.* II. p. 125. (*alken* farinde mon. *ib.* I. p. 182.) *aboute* hem *echon*. *Pop. S.* 59. to wytnesse

the Southern *me* (men, one). It is simply the dative of the 1st person, in this construction commonly called *dativus ethicus*, so frequently employed in Early Engl. literature. ✱ ✱

- \*) With this indefinite pronoun is not to be confounded the adjective *ilke* in the sense of *same*. It is in Old Engl. *ylca*, and is common to all Early E. dialects. So, for instance: þat *ilke* lond, *Laz.* I. p. 70 (l. t.). Than *ilke* song. *O. a. N.* 742. þat *ilk* dai. *Sarm.* 28. þiss *ilke* Saant Johan. *Orm.* 755. þis *ilke* wyȝ. *Gaw.* 819. that *ilk* tim. *Metz. H.* p. 126.

✱ Dr. Gieseler's objection to the view of the *ecche* as a dative of the 1st person is not valid.

I take echon. *R. Gl.* p. 29. — in eavereuch londe ich am cunth. *O. a. N.* 920. with-inne fourti dayes hit heveth everech lyme. *Pop. S.* 312. Kometh to houssong hevere uchon. *V. a. W.* 270.

In the East Midland dial. Ellic mann. *Orm.* 3538. Ilk gres, ilc wurt, ilc birdheltre. *G. a. Ex.* 119. — ille an sholde witen wel. *Orm.* 503. ilc-on his kamel wið watres drinc ghe quemede wel. *G. a. Ex.* 1379. — euerilc bale, and euerilc wunder, and euerilc wo. *Gen. a. Ex.* 68, 69. evrilc luven oðer. *Best.* 372. — And euerilc on ðat helden wid him. *G. a. Ex.* 285.

In the West Midl. d. In vche areye. *All. P. A.* 5. vch gresse. *Ib.* 31. — Bot vchon fayn of operez hafyng. *All. P. A.* 450. vchon oper. *Gaw.* 98. þen haylsed he ful hendly þo hapelez vch one, *Ib.* 829. on vcha tynde. *All. P. A.* 78. in vche a won. *Gaw.* 997. (ylka wyghth *Amad.* B. 145.) — euiryche þere. *Amad.* A. 142. euyriche day. *Ib.* 153. Religijs men eurichon. *Ib.* 292.

In the Northern d. ilc man. *Metr. H.* p. 121. ilk man. *Ib.* p. 2. ilk man þat here lyves. *Hamp.* 89. of ich kynd. *Townel. M.* p. 24. ich man. *Ib.* — and filled thaim of water ilkan. *Metr. H.* p. 120. ilk ane in thar degre. *Barb.* IX. 12. ilka dele. *Ps.* CXVIII, 140. on ilka sid. *Barb.* IX. 340. of ilka parte. *Hamp.* 364. — at euer ilke messe. *Metr. H.* p. 4. thai thaim scalyt euirilkane. *Barb.* IX. 254. In everilka nede. *Minot.* p. 51.

The Old English **swylc**, such, has in Early English many forms. The Southern dial. **swilc**, **swulc** or more commonly **selk**, **silk**, **sulk** or without the letter **l** **such**. The East Midl. d. employs the form **swilc**. The West Midl. d. has **sech**. But the Northern dialect exhibits three different forms: **swylk**, used in the Yorkshire dialect, **slik** (answering to Icel. slíkr, Sw. slik), occurring in border dialects (according to Morris, Pref. to *Hamp.* p. VIII), and **sic**, which is peculiar to the Lowland speech. This last form is, perhaps, only a contraction of **slik**, the elision of the letter **l** being rather common in E.E. (Cp. Swed. loqu. sicken, contracted from se hvilken). Occasionally the final **-k** in **slik** is dropped. Chaucer uses as well **swich** as **slik**.

The Southern dial. swilk a sune. *Laz.* II. p. 368. swulc fare. *Ib.* I. p. 166. swlc werc. *Ib.* I. p. 119. (soch worch, l. t.) swiche luve. *O. a. N.* 1345. selk falseté. *Dame S.* 101. selke a wrecche. *Ib.* 313. silk blame. *Ib.* 198. sulke a lore. *Ib.* 264. more than suche

three. *Pop. S.* 97. — In the East Midl. d. swille Hf. *Orm.* 1682. swilk tiding. *G.a.Ex.* 407. swilk sel. *Ib.* 1204. swilk is Godes hard wreche. *B.a.S.* 336. suilk creature. *Brunne.* p. 213. (swiulc wreche. *G.a.Ex.* 632. suwilk a 3el. *B.a.S.* 484.) — In the West Midl. d. a hundreth of seche as I am. *Gaw.* 1548. suche a lufue. *Amad.* A. 623. — In the Northern dial. swylk men. *Hamp.* 156, 273. suilk kynges. *Curs. M.* 83. (Yef he the silc askinges nite. *Metr. H.* p. 137.) slic wordes. *Metr. H.* p. 3. slic a child. *Ib.* p. 112. to mak slike boste. *Min.* p. 4. Qua herd ever ani slik purveance. *Curs. M.* 183. (ille felawes hefd sli maistri. *Metr. H.* p. 113. Haf he neuer sli sin don. *Ib.* p. 105.) on sic maner. *Barb.* IX. 21. sic rangaille. *Ib.* 68. sich a woth. *Townel. M.* p. 31.

In the Southern dialect we have the adjective **bellych** or **pilk**, **pilke**, **pulk**, **pulke**, such, answering to the Old Engl. **pyllic**, **pyle**. (Cp. Icel. **pvílikr**, Old Sw. **pyliker**, tholkin, Sw. **dylik**). In the other dialects this word is scarcely found.

Iu scheomelese schucke — þat þulli mot haldest. *St. Marh.* p. 7. þe strengest þe weren in þilke daies. *La3.* I. 55. I. t. (o þon dawen, e. t.) of þelliche þinges him gledeþ. *Dan. M.* p. 27. and þelliche þinges ich y-ze3 her. *Ib.* p. 266. Thilke time. *Dame S.* 124. thilke soth-sa3e. *O.a.N.* 1036. of thilk dai. *XV S.* 55. þilk silue dai. *Ib.* 96. Mid thilke wordes. *V.a.W.* 148. alle thulke. *Pop. S.* 40. þulke selue day. *R. Gl.* p. 354.

Peculiar to the Northern dialect (and the Ormulum) is the indefinite adjective **ser**, **sere**, different, several, which Mätzner (*Gr.* I. p. 305; II, 2, p. 278) erroneously connects with several, comparing it to Old French seivre (seivrer, sevrer, separare). The word sere is, however, allied to Icel. **sér**, Sw. **sär**, Dan. **sær**, used mostly in compounds. (As Icel. **sérhverr**, **sérliqr**. Swed. **särskild**, **särdeles**, etc.)

In the Northern dialect. In sere kyndes *Hamp.* 48. Of sere materes. *Ib.* 387, al þir takens sere. *Ib.* 828. And sere signs. *Ib.* 997. on sere manere. *Metr. H.* p. 107. ilkan woned in sere celle. *Ib.* p. 150. Office sere. *Townel. M.* p. 7. Sere present. *Ib.* p. 47. Colers sere. *Ib.* p. 48. (Of seyre colours. *Townel. M.* p. 7. Sorowes seyr. *Ib.* p. 251. Synnes seyr. *Ib.* p. 261.) Thai dang on othyr with wapnys ser. *Barb.* IX. 105. — In the Ormulum: Annd ille an had iss operr fra toskilledd annd todeledd; For ser iss Sune, annd Fader ser, annd ser iss þe33re baþre Allmahhtiz Gast. 18651, 18655.

*(copy of Hampel)*  
 Finally I shall mention the curious adjective **fon**, **fone**, **fune**, **few**, which is a peculiar Northumbrian word, not being found in Lowland writers. It may possibly have arisen out of the definite form of the Old English **feā**, **feāwa**, and in that case the final **-n** has become fixed without reference to whether the form were definite or not\*). In the other dialects the corresponding word is **feawe**, **fewe**, **fowe**, etc.

And for to life her a fon dayse. *Hamp.* 530. my fon days. *Ib.* 762. fon it dredes. *Ib.* 2693. fone men. *Ib.* 764. Our syns sal þan sem fone. *Ib.* 2465. After thair syns er many or fone. *Ib.* 3284. þai er fone made. *Ps.* CXV, 39. Fone be þe daies of him. *Ib.* CVIII, 8. Fone frendes he findes that his bale betes. *Min.* p. 7. Fone left thai olive. *Ib.* p. 20. Fynd I bot a fone. *Townel. M.* p. 22. — Fune can telle. *Hamp.* 6424. Fune betes his bale. *M.* p. 7. — The comparative is not uncommon: For þe foner shuld com þider to duelle. *Hamp.* 3731. Fone men may now fourty yhere pas, And foner fifty. *Ib.* 765. — Noteworthy is further the noun substantive fonenesse which occurs in the *E. E. Psalter*, *Ps.* CI, 24, MS. Harl. 1770, instead of feunesse, which is used in another MS. (Cotton. M<sup>s</sup>. Vesp. D. VII.).

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\*) In Old English, as far as I know, we have not the indefinite form in **-n**. The definite form occurs, for instance in King Alfred's Orosius (Ed. Thorpe) p. 320, l. 22: þa feawan þe þær to lafe wurdon; and p. 325, l. 1. þa feawan þe þær ut oðfligon. It may be mentioned here, that we occasionally meet with the accusat. neuter **fohun**, **foun** in O. H. G. (See: Dr. Graff's Alt-Hoch-Deutcher Sprachschatz, III. p. 431.)

## NUMERALS.

In Early English numerals there are comparatively few dialectic varieties. With regard to the cardinals it will suffice to point out one or two examples. The O. E. **án**, **one**; **a**, **an**, is in the Southern dialect **an**, **anne**, **on**, **one**, **o** and **a**; in the Midland dialects **an**, **on**, and in the Northern **an**, which is sometimes shortened into **a**. It is used both as a numeral and as the definite article. The cardinals **twinne** and **thrinne** are rather frequent in the Northern and Midland dialects. (Cp. M. G. acc. m. **tvans**, **prins**; Icel. **tvennr**, and sometimes **tvinnr**, **prennr**; Sw. **tvenne**, **trenne**.) In the South. d. **twie**, (**two**) and **pre** are the common forms. As to the ordinals, the Southern dialect adopts the Old Engl. suffix **pa**, **-ta** softened into **-pe**, **-the**, except the Kentish dialect which makes most of its ordinals in **-ende**. This termination **-end** (**-and**) is regular in the Northern dial., and is also found in Midland writers. (Cp. Icel. **-undi**, **andi**; Sw. **-nde**.)

In the Southern dialect. An preost wes on leoden. *La3.* I. p. 1. (A preost. *Ib.* l. t.) **pe** king hæfde on broþer. *Ib.* I. p. 24. l. t. (þe king hæfde ænne broðer, e. t.) Betere is min on than alle thine. *O. a. N.* 712. This on. *Pop. S.* 129. That befel on an day. *Dame S.* 16. Ich am on holi wimon. *Ib.* 205. That ich bute anne craft ne can. *O. a. N.* 792. anne blok. *V. a. W.* 29. he af-sei ane wal. *Ib.* 10. Ich was in one sumere dale. *O. a. N.* 1. he come to one walle. *V. a. W.* 17. Betere is o song of mine muthe. *O. a. N.* 713. saf o tre. *Fall a. P.* 23. o god we ssul honori. *Ten. C.* 17. alle we byeþ lemes of o body. *Dan M.* p. 186. bote a man coupe French. *R. Gl.* p. 364. — þe soueþe. *La3.* II. p. 157. (l. t.) the sovethe part. *Pop. S.* 266. (the sove del. *Ib.* 250.) þe sefþe *XV S.* 97. þe noeþþe kyng. *St. Sw.*

91. þe teþe angle. *F.a.P.* 15. tuenteothe, *Pop. S.* 309. — þe zeuende godes heste. *Dan M.* p. 2. þe eȝtende; þe neȝende; þe tende. *Ib.*

In the Midland dialects. An preost. *Orm.H.* 109. ðhre persones and on reed, on migt and on godfulhed. *G.a.Ex.* 55, 56. Panter is an wilde der. *Best.* 733. Bot on I wolde yow pray. *Gaw.* 2439. — Anndawere o twinne wise. *Orm.* 12000. More or ðe gungere twinne del. *G.a.Ex.* 1510. Josef gaf ilc here twinne srud. *Ib.* 2367. þe tweyne yȝen *Gaw.* 962. Noþess þrinne bærn. *Orm.* 6808. Her uss bitacnenn þrinne treos þa þrinne kinne boȝhess. *Ib.* 10053, 54. þrynne syþe. *Gaw.* 1869. þenne watȝ he war on þe weye of wlonk wyȝeȝ þrynne. *All. P. B.* 606. — þe sefennde. *Orm.* 4464. ðe egtende dai. *Gen.a.Ex.* 1199. (Occas. tigðe. *Ib.* 895.) But: þe tenþe dole. *All. P. A.* 136. furthe. *Ib.* 1004. fyfthe. *Ib.* 1005. aȝtþe *Ib.* 1010.

In the Northern dialect. For in him, in wham ane of þer four es. *Hamp.* 259. Ane es for þe payne þat a man has. *Ib.* 1768. A God a miht in persons iii. *Metr.H.* p. 1. — on twyn manere. *Hamp.* 3594, 5842. — þe sevend. *Hamp.* 3984. þe aghtynd, *Ib.* 3986. þe neghend. *Ib.* 3988. þe aghtand pine. *Cur. M.* (In Preface to *Hamp.* p. X. That was the teynd. *Townel. M.* p. 4. (But: the tent. *Ib.* p. 51. The tent parte. *Ib.* p. 178).

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## VERBS.

In the inflections of verbs we have the most striking and constant differences between the principal Early English dialects. The Southern forms are in general closely connected with those in the Old book-speech; the Northern are, as in most other cases, considerably simplified. But the Midland dialects, otherwise often exhibiting forms identical with inflections used by their neighbours, have some quite peculiar verbal forms of their own. As I not propose here to write an Early English grammar, I desist from giving paradigms or minute rules, showing how verbs were to be divided into certain conjugations. I shall only point out some palpable peculiarities, by which we may easily discriminate between the four Early English dialects.

The most obvious diversity we find in the **present** tense, indicative mood. \*) The Old S. English tongue had for this tense the following terminations: **-e**, **-ast**, **-(a)ð** for the sing. and **að** for the plural number. (I pass over the plural form in **-e** used when the pronoun followed close, as of no consequence in Early English). The Southern dialect retains these inflections, the vowel **a** being as usual softened into **e**; thus, sing. **-e**, **est**, **eth**; plur. **-eth**. The final **-t** in the 2nd person sing. is, however, often omitted. The Northern dialect has the ending **-es** \*\*) for all persons in the present tense, perhaps

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\*) See Mr. Morris' valuable remarks upon this head in the Preface to his *Allit. Poems*. p. XX. (Cp. Dr. Latham's *The English Language*, 1850, p. 534.)

\*\*) The letter **s** in the Old Northumbr. Gospels answers often to an Old South. Engl. **ð**.



arising out of a difficulty to pronounce the soft final *-th*. The final *-s* in the first person is not seldom dropped. But in the Midland dialects we find the inflection *en* for the plural, uniformly and constantly employed instead of the O.E. *-að*. In the singular number the East Midland dial. exhibits the same terminations as the South. d., namely *-e*, *est*, *eth*; the West Midland dial. conjugates its singular in much the same way as the Northern dialect, having the terminations *-e*, *es*, *-es*. There are of course exceptions from the above rules\*). So we occasionally find the Midland *-en* in Northern writers, or the Southern singular *-est* and *-eth* in some West Midland MSS. (In the Shropshire dialect). But this must be considered as marks of authors living in a county bordering upon another not grammatically connected with

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\*) It will not be inappropriate here to mention the nunnation in verbs in *Laȝamon* and occasionally in other writers, which is more fully discussed by Sir Fr. Madden (Pref. to *Laȝ.* I. p. XXIX). A final *-n* was in the earlier text of *Laȝ.* often added to the 1st pers. sing. of the present tense, and now and then it appears in the 1st and 2nd pers. of the past tense; in the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. of the pres. subj.; and in the 2nd pers. s. of the imper. mood. In the later text the final *n* is oftenest elided, even in regular forms; but still we have several examples of the verbal nunnation. In the Romance of King Horn we also meet with some few instances of this curious bias to the antique nasal sound. So for instance in the earlier text of *Laȝamon*. Her ich aȝeuen ælche cnihten. II. p. 285. þa while ich beon on liue. I. p. 168. Swa ich ænere ibiden are. I. p. 141. ich habben inoȝe. I. p. 136. ah wel ich hit ileuen. I. p. 186. ich wullen þe speken. I. p. 374. ich ȝifuen him mine dohter Gennis. I. p. 406. — ich ferdē I. p. 199. also ich hine nusten I. p. 152. þat þu weren here. I. p. 214. þer þu þa sæxes droȝen. II. p. 268. Seodðon þu tuȝen uenon þe. II. p. 248. — In the later text of *Laȝamon*: nas neuere þe man ibore — þat cuȝen in þat dȝe tellen. I. p. 75. he letten. I. p. 88. a lond þe vs weren icweme. I. p. 265. ware he wolden fihte I. p. 63. — And in King Horn: He wenten (she went) ut of halle Fram hire maidenē alle. 71. Christ ȝeven him blessing; 156. Horn seiden; 941.

it, or as peculiarities of scribes writing in another dialect. As to the origin of the Midland inflection **-en** in the pres. plural indic., various opinions have been advanced. It may either be simply an extension of the subjunctive form to the indicative, as Dr. Latham suggests, or perhaps more likely it may have grown up spontaneously in analogy with what has been the case in other Scando-Gothic tongues. The final **-n** of the present plural indic. is found in Moeso-Gothic and Old High German in the 3rd person (**-and**; **-ant**); in Middle High German in the 1st and 3rd persons (**-en**; **ent**); in Old and Modern Swedish in the 2nd person (**-in**; **-en**); on Swedish runic monuments even elsewhere; and in several German popular dialects in all persons. Thus this **-en** is probably another example of movement in forms, the creeping of one characteristic ending into the place of another in certain folk-talks at certain times. Chaucer has also the Midland **-en** for the present plural which often is shortened into **-e**, but for the singular he uses the Southern forms, **-e**, **-est**, and **-eth**.

In the Southern dialect. *Ȝet ich ou sigge on oper. Laz. I. p. 31. Ich telle thi. O. a. N. 715. Ich bileue ine þe holi gost. Dan. M. p. 13. — þu hauest mine dohter. Laz. I. p. 96. thou me tellest. Dame S. 52. Ȝet thu me telst of other thinge. O. a. N. 625. (Thus the letter *o* of the 2nd pers. sing. is often omitted in the Southern d.; as for instance again in the *O. a. N.*: *menst*, 755; *lenst*, 756; *singst*, 594; *draȝst*, 589; *darst*, 851; and so on). *þenne þu cumes faren. Laz. I. p. 187. þu haues mochel wouh. Ib. I. p. 141. þenne bi-swikes tu heom. Ib. I. p. 145. Thu ȝolst and wones. O. a. N. 983. Thou nestes nevere daies ten. V. a. W. 48. — He deð him selua freoma, þa helpedð his freondene. Laz. I. p. 29. Hit luveth thuster. O. a. N. 230. zay þis þet uolȝeþ. Dan. M. p. 1. Hit berth on rugge grete semes. O. a. N. 773. ac thanne hi heth yslepe, and comth to him zelue thanne he yvelth his knead and knauth his folye. Dan. M. p. 128. (The letter *o* of the 3rd pers. sing. is often elided in Southern, especially Kentish writers. Further we remark that the 3rd pers. sing. pres. ind. of verbs having *t* or *d* for the last syllable of the root often changes the final *-teð* or *deð* into *-t*, as already in the old speech, the vowel of the suffix being syncopated and the characteristic letter melted together with the ending *th* and sharpened into *-t*. Thus, *spet* instead of *spedeth*,**

*O.a.N.* 763, holt, *Cok.* 128, etc.) — Woden, þe we on bi-leueð. *Laz.* II. p. 160. þurh þi lond heo ærneð, and hærzied and herneð. *Ib.* II. p. 161. 3e huntied i þes kinges friðe. *Laz.* I. p. 61. of liȝte nabbeth hi none i-munde. *O.a.N.* 253. we taketh this sacrement. *Shoreh.* p. 17. (men segget a vorbisne. *O.a.N.* 98. Her-bi men segget a bi-spel. *Ib.* 127.)

In the East Midland dialect. Icc hafe wennd inntill Enngliſsh Goddspelless hallȝhe lare *Orm.* D. 13. ic wene. *G.a.Ex.* 308. — ȝiff þu ledesst clene lif, annd murrenesst i þin heorte. *Orm.* 1262, 63. ðin present, ðat ðu to me bringest and hauest sent. *G.a.Ex.* 1832. (All þatt tu sammness i þin hord. *Orm.* 12230. This is a solitary example in [the *Ormulum* of the final -t being dropped. In *G.a.Ex.* often: ðu haves, 360. wid quam ðu is findes, 1768. ðu me ransakes. 1773.) — Drihhtin hafeþþ lenedd. *Orm.* D. 16. ðe mire — renneð rapelike, and resteð hire seldum, and fecheð hire fode. *Best.* 240, 242. (The final -ð is sometimes changed into -d, -t or even s, nu haved he stolen min bliscing oc. *Gen.a.Ex.* 1568. Quat oget nu. *Ib.* 324. forsaket. *Best.* 96. quenchet. *Ib.* 345. seit. *Ib.* 703. bilimpes. *Ib.* 362.) — witt hafenn takenn. *Orm.* D. 7. ȝiff þeȝȝ all forrwerppenn itt. *Ib.* D. 149. if we rigt munen. *Gen.a.Ex.* 558. þat man callen. *Ib.* 1488. hiſe fedres fallen for ðe hete. *Best.* 72. in dike he fallen bothe two. *B.a.S.* 240\*). (Occasionally we find the Southern plural termination -th in the *Ormul.* and other East Midl. works, as, menn hemm o Cristess name cristnneþþ. *Orm.* 13257. Helle hounde cometh nou sone. *B.a.S.* 311. — On the other hand, the Northern -es is often found in writers living in the Northern counties of the East Midland district. Thus R. of Brunne commonly uses this inflection; and often he throws it altogether away. So already in the *Ormulum*: þa follȝhe ȝitt tatt narrwe stih. 6208.)

In the West Midland dialect. I have a hauberghe at home. *Gaw.* 268 — þy bone, þat þou boden habbes. *Gaw.* 327. Such wages as þou deles me to day. *Ib.* 397. quy sittus thou here? *Amad.* 130.

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\*) Mr. Rawson Lumby, the editor of *King Horn*, says with regard to the language of this poem, which he declares to be the Midland dial. (Pref. XI): "In the *Horn* the plurals of the verb are nearly all in en; as, smyten, etc. Of this Midland form twenty-five instances occur, while of the Southern form of the plural eþ only two examples are found. But most of those plural forms are preterites, which, as we know, in the Southern dialect regularly end in -en. This poem, which is composed in a boundary county, exhibits many Southern forms and may therefore perhaps rather be called a Southern work with Midland peculiarities."

— þat burȝe he biges. *Gaw.* 9. þere he kneles & calleȝ, & clepes after help. *All. P. B.* 1344. Ther stondus a bere — Ther sittus a woman. *Amad.* 88, 89. he þat flemus vch fylþe fer fro his hert. *All. P. B.* 31. (Whanne þou komest to kourt among de kete lordes, and knowest alle þe kuþþes. *Will. a. W.* 319, 320.) — we leuen on marye. *All. P. A.* 425. renkes of relygioun þat reden & syngen. *Ib. B.* 7. do quat ȝe demen. *Gaw.* 1082. as tellen ure bokes. *Will. a. W.* 5. (Occasionally: quen stroþe men slepe. *All. P. A.* 115. We calle hyr fenyx. *Ib. A.* 430. William — wiȝes me calles. *W. a. W.* 228).

In the Northern dialect. If þou redes þat it sua be. *Curs. M.* 359. þou sekas him. *Ps.* VIII, 5. — he, that turnes alle thoht fra the. *Metr. H.* p. 2. he haues in him Godes horde. *Ib.* Sayn mark by-ginnes his godspel *Ib.* p. 9. us telles alsua John gildenmoth. *Curs. M.* 21. — When perels of dede comes sodanly. *Hamp.* 1989. mescheefes oft comes til man. *Ib.* 699. Alle bowys to me. *Townel. M.* p. 66. (Occasionally: þat forth gone (qui perambulant) *Ps.* VIII, 9. Als schadow forth-gane daies hisse. *Ib.* CXLIII, 4. noght þat wicknes wirken ai. *Ib.* CXVIII, 3).

The **preterite tense** of Early English verbs is formed as in Old English, either by adding the suffix **-de**, or **-te** to the root (weak verbs), or by changing the vowel (strong verbs). The Old terminations for the sing., **-de**, **dest**, **-de**; plur. **don**; or **-te**, **test**, **-te**; **ton**, are in the Southern and East Midland dialects sing. **-de**, **dest**, **-de** pl. **den**, or **-te**, **test**, **te**; **-ten**. The West Midland dial. has **-es** for the 2nd pers. sing., else it makes its preterite like the East Midland. The final **-e** of the 1st and 3rd persons, however, often disappears. So the **-es** of the 2nd person. In the Southern and Midland dialects the final **-n** in the pl. is often omitted. The Northern dialect has the termination **-ed** for all persons; the plural **-den** is seldom to be met with.

The preterite of strong verbs is in the Southern and Midland dialects framed after the Old prototype, still with several disagreements. Thus some verbs have a vowelchange in the plural. The terminations are the following: sing. 1st p. —, 2nd **-e**, 3rd —; pl. **-en** (O.E. pl. **-on**.) The Northern dialect has no termination of persons in its preterite, which ends in the characteristic

letter. Occasionally, however, the plural in **-en** is found. There is no vowelchange in the plural. As we find instances of all these inflections on every page in Early English writers, I need not here, I think, give any quotations. I shall only mention some few peculiar or exceptional forms. Chaucer uses almost the same inflections with those in the East Midland dialect.

The 2nd person sing. preterite tense of weak verbs. In the West Midl. dialect: þou cowþeþ neuer god nauþer plese ne pray. *All. P. A.* 483. þou dipteþ me of þe depe se. *Ib.* C. 308. þou — traunayledeþ. *Ib.* C. 498. þi lyf woldeþ þou tyne. *Ib.* C. 500. alle that thou myȝtus haue. *Amad. A.* 813. — (In the East Midland dialect occasionally: ðu higtes to leuen on him. *Best.* 169. If ðu hauest it broken, al ðu for-breðes, for-wurðes and for-gelues. *Ib.* 174, 175. tu wuldes seien. *Ib.* 501. ðat tu firmest higtes. *Ib.* 213.) — In the Northern dialect: þou torned us hindward. *Ps.* XLIII, 11. þou meked us. *Ib.* XLIII, 20. þou made me. *Ib.* CXXXVII, 5.

The 2nd pers. sing. preterite of strong verbs. In the Southern dialect: Ihesu, for love thou stehe on rode, For love thou seȝe thin heorte blode. *Lyr. P.* p. 69. — (In the East Midl. dialect occasionally: Icc hafe don swa summ þu baþþ. *Orm. Ded.* 11. And so often) — In the West Midland dial.: so hyȝ þou clambe. *All. P. A.* 772. (But often the final **-e** is omitted: Hov wan þou in-to þis won? *Ib.* B. 140.)

The plural **-n** is often dropped in the preterite of verbs in the Southern dialect: And the peces flowe aboute And smyte on this lithere men. *St. Kath.* 229, 230. Hi nome ken hokes of ire. *Ib.* 248. hi sloȝe to grounde. *St. Edm.* 11. hi seȝe hire sitte. *St. Ken.* 239.

The **subjunctive mood** of Old English verbs has the terminations sing. **-e**, pl. **-on** for the present tense of all verbs, and for the preterite of strong ones. Further, sing. **-ðe**, **-te**; pl. **-ðon**, **-ton** for the preterite of weak verbs. The Southern and East Midland dialects have sing. **-e**, plur. **-en** for the present tense; **-de**, **-den** for the preterite of weak verbs, **-e**, **-en** for the preterite of strong verbs. The West Midland and Northern dialects frame the subjunctive mood like the indicative. Chaucer exhibits the same subj. forms as those in the Southern E. E. dialect. Some few examples from Southern and East Midland writers may be given as specimens.

Ich wylle þet þou ete and drinke, *Dan. M.* p. 53. if thu hulde *Pop. S.* 21. if a man above sete. *Ib.* 149. O, man and womman, þou take hede. *XV S.* 14. Abram, þu fare ut of lond. *G. a. Ex.* 737. gef þu it soȝe. *Best.* 502. luve we him wið migte. *Best.* 718. non oðer lovedr ne luve we. *Ib.* 723.

The **imperative**, in O. E. terminating in **-a**, **-e** or the characteristic for the sing., and **-að**, **-e** for the plural, ends in the Southern and East Midland dialects in the sing. in **-e** or the characteristic, and in the plural in **-eth**, or when the pronoun follows, in **-e**. The West Midland and Northern dialects have **-e**, **-es** for the sign of the imperative. Besides, the Northern dialect has what Mr. Morris calls an uninflected imperative, which may be simply a subjunctive form. I shall quote two or three examples. 96 -  
subj.

Haf he forthynking ay in thoght. *Hamp.* 3510. do he penance. *Ib.* 3512. Thole he it mekely. *Ib.* 3524. Love he him. *Ib.* 3535. Ryse he up. *Ib.* 3507. Lat we this god wyn in us sink. *Met. H.* p. 126. Com go we alle sam. *Townel. M.* p. 34. Go we thider. *Ib.* p. 28.

The Old S. Engl. **infinitive** ending **-an** is in the Southern and Midland dialects **-en**, which is seldom to be found in Northern writers. The Southern dialect exhibits a mass of infinitives in **-ien**, **-ie**, **-y**, or **-i** (answering to Old forms in **-ian**). The West Midland dialect retains also many such infinitives, the East Midland dialect shows only some few traces, but the Northern dialect none at all. The final **-n** is often dropped in Southern and Midland writers. The Northern and West Midland dialects omit often the whole ending **-en**. With Chaucer the inf. ends in **-en** or **-e**. I give some examples of infinitives in **-ien**, etc. in the South. and Midl. dialects. none  
-ie  
-y

In the Southern dialect. Men þe wllæt lunien. *La3.* I. p. 129. (louie, l. t.) lovien, *Dame S.* 7. wonie and grede. *O. a. N.* 973. woni. *Sarm.* 51. worpi. *Ten. C.* 18. nemny. *Pop. S.* 29. hongi. *V. a. W.* 88. hi ssolden him ærui and þonki and toppe alle þinges louie and worssipie. *Dan. M.* p. 6. — In the East Midland d'

luvien, *Best.* 170. \*) hatien, *ib.* 395, 396. wonie. *B. a. S.* 360.  
 — In the West Midland dial. fayly, *All. P. A.* 34. wony. *ib.*  
 284. spotty, *ib.* 1069.

The Old speech had a **gerund**, a kind of oblique form of the infinitive, or a future infinitive, which terminated in **-enne** or **-anne** and was always preceded by **tó**. This verbal form, not found in Scandinavia, answers to Latin supines, infin. future, active and passive, etc. In Early English this gerundial infinitive remains in the Southern dialect, where it ends in **-enne**, **-ene**, or **-inde**. This termination, identical in form with the present participle, became soon corrupted into **-inge**; in accordance with a very common tendency in the language to sharpen and sing the letter **-n**. \*\*) In the 14th century the gerund is mostly found in Kentish writers. Chaucer occasionally makes use of this verbal form.

Pe king sette to fleonne. *Laz.* I. p. 67. (to flende, I. t.). sohte to flæinde. *ib.* I. p. 237. (to fleonde, I. t.). he bigon þus spetewetliche to speokene, *St. Mark.* p. 13. treowliche to witene, *ib.* p. 13. 3if thu gest her-of to disputinge. *O. a. N.* 873. to longinge. *ib.* 887. That is lizt to done. *V. a. W.* 236. to conne and to done. *Dan M.* p. 11. þat is to wytene. *ib.* p. 50. He ous yeff his blod to drinke and his vless to etene. *ib.* p. 146.

As the sign of the infinitive or gerund the old speech used the particle **tó**, which is retained in the Southern and Midland dialects. The Northern dialect has more commonly the forms **at** and **till**, this last word chiefly used in Lowland writers (and in the

\*) Mr. Morris (Pref. to Gen. a. Ex. p. XXVII) says: Infinitives in **-y** or **-ie** were, most probably, wholly unknown to the East Midland district. This observation does not hold good, although the inf. forms in **-y** are never found in the *Ormulum*, the *Gen.* and *Exodus*, and *Rob. of Brunne*.

\*\*) Interesting examples of this phenomenon may be found in Prof. Stephens' splendid Runic Work, I. p. 20, 21. — As a curiosity I mention here that the word *hond* is occasionally spelled *hong* in the *Life of St. Cristofer*, 80, just as the Swedish *hund*, a hound, is pronounced *hong* in the dialect of Skåne.

East Midl. Ormulum). These forms are found in Old Northumbrian documents, and therefore, although identical with the Scand. *at* and *tīl*, cannot be said to have been introduced by the the Scandinavian wikings.

I thrested and at drynk yhe me badde. *Hamp.* 6152. And yhe wald nocht gyfe me at ete. *Ib.* 6191. þus sal he com doun at sitte þare. *Ib.* 5233. Als mere made I am at se. *Ps.* LXXII, 23. That leres min hend at fight nou. *Ps.* XVII, 35. The phrase 'that es at say' is very common in *Metr. Hom.* and *Hampole*. (So in *Metr. H.* p. 37, 46, 51, 52, 58 etc. *Hamp.* 3184, 5285, 7667, etc.) We wenyd tille have bene ded therfor. *Townel. M.* p. 322. For till help him. *Barb.* IX, 191. — Stanndenn inn till þeowwtenn. *Orm.* 11437. — (Was he not so hardy at stand to bataille. *Brunne.* p. 34.)

In Old English the present participle was terminated in *-ende*, which in the Southern dialect is *-inde* or *-inge*, in the East Midland dial. *-ande*, or *ende* (*-end*), in the West Midland and Northern dialect *-ande* (*-and*). The corrupted form in *-inge* is already found in the earlier text of *Lazamon*. In Chaucer the termination *-yng* is most common.

In the South. dialect. Ne ganninde ne ridinde. *Laz.* I. p. 67 (Ne goinde ne ridingge. l. t.) siggeð stondinde þesnep Psalm. *Ancri. R.* p. 34. glistinde glimstom. *St. Marh.* p. 11. mid bearninde taperes. *Ib.* p. 18. he rarinde rad ruglinge into helle. *Ib.* p. 17. þe ich æm waldinge ouer. *Laz.* I. p. 131. Mid barninge golde. *Ib.* II. p. 605. heo riden singinge. *Ib.* III. p. 72. (often in the later text.) þis is þe lyf of þe wel louiynde. *Dan M.* p. 73. y go haltinde in the halle. *Lyr. P.* p. 48.

In the East Midland dialect. Quo made domme, and quo spec-  
ande, quo made bisne, and quo lochende? *G. a. Ex.* 2820, 2821. fareð on him figtande. *Best.* 159. ðanne cumeð ðer on gangande. *Ib.* 654. rennande cumeð a gungling. *Ib.* 667. standand stille as stone. *Brunne.* p. 219. A colter glowende. *B. a. S.* 383. al was glowende ilke a grote. *Ib.* 408. (brennynge. *Ib.* 396. stertlinde, *Ib.* 120.)

In the West Midland d. wyth 'a starande ston, stondande alofte, þat bere bluschande bemeȝ. *Gaw.* 1818, 1819. wyschande. *All. P. A.* 14. glemande. *Ib.* 70. gold so clure schinand, *Amad.* 861. — The Northern d. al er we born gretand and makand a sorrowful sembland. *Hamp.* 502, 503. mony a schynand scheld. *Barb.* IX, 34. (Participles in *-ing* never occur in the North. d.; but we have

*Prof. k*  
*Hampol*  
*all*  
*to*  
*Hynd*



some verbal nouns ending in this syllable, as, þus es here þe begynnyng of our lyfe sorow and gretynge, *Hamp.* 496.

The **past participle** of Old English weak verbs had the ending **-od**, **-ed**, or **-d**, of strong verbs **-en**. All Early English dialects exhibit the termination **-ed** for the past part. of weak, and **-en** of strong verbs. In Southern and some Midland writers, however, the final **-n** is often dropped. So never in the Northern dialect. On the other hand, the Old prefix **ge-**, which is retained in most Southern and some Midland writers oftenest softened into **i-** or **y-**, is not found in the Northern speech. Chaucer has also the partic. terminations **-ed**, **-d** (occasionally **-et**, **-t**) and **-en**, **-e**. Often the prefix **i-**, **y-** is found. Some examples of the omission of the letter **-n**, and the occurrence of the old prefix in E. E. writers may be quoted.

In the Southern d. Laweman was hote. *La3.* I. p. 1. l. t. (so the final **-n** is very frequently omitted in the later text). flehs unsode. *O. a. N.* 1005. i-writte. *Sarm.* 10. ispoke. *Ib.* 36. iwrit. *XVS.* 13. icome. *Ib.* 30. i-falle. *F. a. P.* 17. to-breke. *V. a. W.* 19 i-seze. *Pop. S.* 33. ycome. *R. Gl.* p. 359. — (The final **-d** occasionally dropped: mi wedde houssebonde. *Dame S.* 137.)

In the East Midland d. Euerile þhing haved he geue neme. *G. a. Ex.* 301. þor he was bi-gote. *Ib.* 2618. — (The **-d** in p. p. of weak verbs is sometimes disregarded: disconfite, *Brunne.* p. 2, 8. disherite. *Ib.* p. 217. Brunne has frequently ent instead of endid: p. 80, 86, 90, 100, etc. But: sorowes þat 3it not endid are. p. 77.) — The prefix **ge-** is retained by *Orm* only in the participle gehatenn, so, *Ded.* 178. *Hom.* very often. i-wreken, *G. a. Ex.* 1856. i-wrogt *Ib.* 3215. ybried, *Ib.* 2520. y-oten. *Ib.* 2416.

In the West Midland dialect. þat art i-chose. *All. P. A.* 903. bore. *Ib.* A. 239. B. 584. — The prefix occurs seldom: i-chose, *All. P. A.* 903. i-brad. *Ib.* 1693.

#### ANOMALOUS VERBS.

The Old English language exhibited several anomalous verbs, commonly having for their present an old strong preterite, and for their preterite one formed after the weak order. In Early English all those verbs are to be found, more or less changed, in the different dia-

lects, but besides many peculiar forms are met with, especially in the Northern and Midland speeches. As it would be too tedious and even superfluous to enumerate all these verbs, I shall confine myself to two of the most common, viz. the strangely mixed verb to be and the frequently used verb shal.

We have in Old Engl. two different verbs signifying to be, **wesan** and **beón**, supplying each other. The Early English dialects exhibit a great variety of forms, most of them derived from these old verbs, but also some quite singular. In order to get a clearer view over the whole, I shall treat of each tense separately, giving numerous examples.

The present indicative has in the Southern dialect the following forms: **æm**, **am**, **beo**, (O. E. **eom**, **beó**); **ært**, **art**, **bist**, **best**, (O. E. **eart**, **byst**); **is**, **bith**, **beth**, **buth**, (O. E. **is**, **ys**, **byð**); **sunden**, **beoth**, **beth**, **buth**, **byep**, for all persons of the plural, (O. E. **synd**, **syndon**; **beóð**, **beó**). The East Midland dialect has the forms **am**; **art**, **best**, (**beas**); **is**, **beð**; and in the plural **ben**, the final **-n** as usually answering to the Southern **-ð**. The form **aren**, **arn** is not uncommon. The Ormulum exhibits often the Old plural **sinndenn**. The West Midland dialect uses almost the same present forms as the East Midl. d., viz. **am**; **art**; **is**, (**bes**, often written **betz**); and for the plural, **arn**, or, probably by Northern influence, without the final **-n**, **ar**, **are**; further sometimes **ben**. In the Northern dialect we remark not only the forms **am**; **ert**; **bes**; pl. **er**, but also the form **es** for all persons sing. and plural. The plural form **er** (Cp. Icel. **erum**, **erut**, **eru**) may perhaps have arisen from the influence of Scandinavian invaders in the 11th century, the Old North. English form being **aron**, **earun**, which according to Prof. Stephens (Old North. Runic Monum. I. p. 26) is not adopted from the vikings, but is „a separately developed local dialectic nunnation“. The form **es**, probably a mere corruption of **is**, ought to be of high antiquity, although,

as far as I know, it does not occur in the Old North Engl. written monuments. For the sake of the rhyme, the forms **is** and **es** are very frequently lengthened into **isse** and **esse** in the Early English Psalter. In Chaucer, finally, the present forms are: **am**; **art**; **beth**, **is**; **pl. beon**, **aren** and **are**.

In the Southern dialect. Ich eam þines fader sweine. *La3.* I. p. 149. ich æm a wrecche mon. *Ib.* I. p. 148 (ich ham, I. t.) Ic æm ælder þænne ic wæs. *Mor. O.* 1. ich am duc. *La3.* I. p. 20. (ich ham duck, I. t.) ich am war. *O. a. N.* 170. ich am wif. *Dame S.* 121. þe while ich beo on line. *La3.* II. p. 55. 3e cumen a londe þer ich beon. *Ib.* II. p. 140. — wifmon þu eart hende. *La3.* I. p. 95. (þou hart, I. t.) Cniht þu ært muchel sot. *Ib.* I. p. 61. þu ert þe hexste of us. *Ib.* I. p. 64. (þou hart, I. t.) as þou ert man. *Sarm.* 37. þu eært. *La3.* I. p. 131. þu art læuerd. *Ib.* p. 265. þu art unmilde. *O. a. N.* 61. þu bist, *La3.* I. p. 129. þu beost iuæid. *Ib.* I. p. 419. The wile thou here bes. *Dame S.* 444. — Hors is mi broðer. *La3.* II. p. 154. al thi song is wailawai. *O. a. N.* 220. Cristendom his that sacrement. *Shoreh.* p. 8. (nou of me i-don hit hiis. *V. a. W.* 106.) swa us wrse bið. *La3.* I. p. 42. he beð for-don. *Ib.* I. p. 351. þe dede beþ so lolich to loke. *Sarm.* 23. he beoð awald. *La3.* I. p. 177. hit buh. *Ib.* I. p. 179. þet by ine inwyt. *Dan. M.* p. 7. — we sunden. *La3.* I. p. 186. ne sunde we *Ib.* I. p. 328. þin gumen sunden 3efere. *Ib.* I. p. 313. (Occasionally: we sunded of Rome. *La3.* II. p. 618. whanene we icumed seoð, *Ib.* II. p. 154.) Thus bith thæs bearnes mid pinunge ifulled. *The S. to the B.* 44. we beoð, *La3.* I. p. 20. we beoth therto y-maked. *Pop. S.* 26. þe me beoh swiðe deore. *La3.* I. p. 134. alle thine wordes both i-sliked. *O. a. N.* 839. Thar beoðh men. *Ib.* 909. heo beð vre fulle fan. *La3.* I. p. 34. thine lif-dayes beth al a-go. *V. a. W.* 49. 3it buð mine leoue sunen. *La3.* I. p. 217. þise byeþ þe capiteles. *Dan. M.* p. 1. (alle þe zennes þet byþ y-bore of prede. *Ib.* p. 17.)

In the East Midland d. Icc amm Gabriel. *Orm.* 205. ic am iosep. *Gen. a. Ex.* 2343. — þin Godd arrt tu full deore. *Orm.* 2206. sellik ðu art on werlde cumen. *G. a. Ex.* 1315. thou3 art for-lorn. *B. a. S.* 64. þu best wiþþ childe. *Orm.* 2455. (As in O.E. in a future sense). ðu best cumen. *G. a. Ex.* 2884. (gu (ðu?) beas. *G. a. Ex.* 365, 366.) — itt iss brohht till ende. *Orm.* D. 28. ut of latin ðis song is dragen. *G. a. Ex.* 13. (gres, ðat ire to haven es. *Best.* 247.) he beð full off Hali3 Gast. *Orm.* 819. ihesus beð on Rode don. *G. a. Ex.* 386. (3ho beoþ æfre — sæsteorne. *Orm.* 2133. sone summ þin laf ben wel all greþpedd. *Ib.* 1578; only once.) — þa

Goddspelless neh alle þatt sindenn o þe-messeboc. *Orm.* D. 31. (Cp. Hom. 389, 3999, 4552, 6293, etc.) ðog hise limes senden strong. *Best.* 79. In ðe se senden selcūðes manie. *Ib.* 555. watres ben her. *G. a. E.* 107. Ʒwere ben thi wurdli wedes? *B. a. S.* 33. we ben sep. *Best.* 49. alle thine frend beon fro the fladde. *B. a. S.* 40. (Occasionally: Crist shall demenn all þatt beþ o Domess dazȝ to demenn. *Orm.* 19889.) Annd tise mahhtess alle imæn arn hæfedd mahhtess ehhte. *Orm.* 4555. Siðen hise limes arn unwelde. *Best.* 57. fagen, so fueles arn quan he it sen dagen. *G. a. Ex.* 16. Wan he it felen he aren fagen. *Best.* 510.

In the West Midland dialect. I am ful fayn. *All. P. A.* 393. — Art þou my perle. *All. P. A.* 242. (when þou arte tryed. *Ib.* 706.) — is þis Arþures hous? *Gaw.* 309. (no blysse betȝ fro hem reparde. *All. P. A.* 610.) — al arn we membreȝ. *All. P. A.* 458. ȝe arn fele. *Ib.* A. 926. þen arne þay. *Ib.* A. 627. we ar. *Gaw.* 2245. ȝe ar. *Ib.* 356. ȝe are, *Ib.* 1226. mony ben called. *All. P. A.* 571. þe ambeȝ vyueȝ in blysse we bene. *Ib.* A. 784.

In the Northern dialect. I am consayved in wykkednes. *Hamp.* 453. Ic am man under pouste. *Metr. H.* p. 127. — Gode ert þou. *Ps.* CXVIII, 68. þou ert my pilgrim lele. *Hamp.* 1393. — he is bygynnyng of alle. *Hamp.* 27. sa bes he brem. *Metr. H.* p. 28. Thar forgifnes bes riht nogt. *Ib.* p. 33. it bees. *Townel. M.* p. 30. He bese ille paide. *Ib.* p. 7. It bese the wars. *Ib.* p. 13. Dysplesyd he beys. *Ib.* p. 141. þe sam God ay was þat es now. *Hamp.* 12 he es with þaim wrath. *Ps.* XVII. 8. my God þat isse. *Ps.* III, 8. God of my rightwisnesse þat isse. *Ib.* IV, 2 (Cp. VI, 4; XII, 6; XV, 5; XVIII, 15, etc.) Lagh of Laverd nn-wemmed esse, *Ps.* XVIII, 8. (Cp. CL, 7; CXVIII, 64, 90, 92, etc.) — Fele-folded ere þair sekenesses ai. *Ps.* XV, 4. al er we born gretand. *Hamp.* 502. Now er we ryche, now er we pur. *Ib.* 1458. Tille haleghs þat in land are ma. *Ps.* XV, 3. al thi sinnes forgiuen es. *Metr. H.* p. 19. (Bot min dedes noht forthi Bes noht schewed sa hastili. *Ib.* p. 120.)

The preterite indicative is for us of less importance. The Southern and Midland dialects have the following forms, which only differ in spelling: **was**, (O.E. **wæs**); **wore**, **was**, (O.E. **wære**); **was** (O.E. **wæs**); **weren**, **wern** (O.E. **wæron**). The Northern dial. has for the sing. **was**, (**war**), and for the plural **war**. Chaucer has the forms: **was**, **were**, **was**; **weren**. The Subjunctive and imperative mood exhibit no differences worth noticing. I mention here only two or three peculiarities.

*sup. t. Hamp.*

Hit watȝ *All. P. A.* 45. (I ne wyste in þis worlde quere þat hit wace. *Ib.* A. 65. To wete quat meruail that ther wasse. *Amad.* A. 77. carefulle wasse hur chire. *Ib.* 81. he wasse my wedutte fere. *Ib.* 135.) — he lykend mans lyf til a tre þat war growand. *Hamp.* 1903. to ilka ioynt war fested a rote. *Ib.* 1907. Yf þat tre war tite pulled oute. *Ib.* 1914. — (and þæt is wel isene, soð þat hit sunde. *Laȝ.* II. p. 597. 3rd pers. pret. subj. mood.)

The Old English defective verb **sceal** has in the Southern Early Engl. dialect remained tolerably unaltered. Thus we have the present forms: **shal**, **schal**, *schel*, *ssel* in the Kentish dialect) (O.E. **sceal**); **scalt**, **schalt**, (**schelt**, **sselt**), (O.E. **scealt**); **scal**, **schal**, (**schel**, **ssel**), (O.E. **sceal**); **scullen**, **schulen**, (**ssollen**, **ssolle**, **sule**), (O.E. **sceolon**). The East Midland dialect exhibits the following forms: **shal**, **sal**; **shalt**, **salt**; **shal**, **sal**, **sul**; and **shulen**, **sulen**. The West Midland dial. has not only the common inflections **shal**; **schal**, **schalt**; **schal**; **schal**, (**schul**, **schulen**), but also the curious form **schin**, which is still in use in the modern dialect of Lancashire in combination with the particle not, as **schunnot**, **shonno**, (**shall not**)\*). The Northern dialect employs the present form **sal** for all persons. Chaucer has **schal**; **schalt**; **schal**; **schullen**, **schuln**, **schul**.

In the Southern dialect. ic heo shal þurh scriðen. *Laȝ.* II. p. 29. I shal. *Dame S.* 170. Ich schal. *O. a. N.* 958. Wat sol ich thar mid mine songe. *Ib.* 1023. — þer to þu scalt temen. *Laȝ.* I. p. 53 (þon saIt, l. t.). and ne scelt þu. *Ib.* I. p. 313. selde þu sælt wel don. *Ib.* I. p. 342. Thou shalt. *Dame S.* 165. Thu shalt i-here an other wes. *O. a. N.* 748. þou salt. *XV S.* 62. þou ne schalt never ywis part habbe of my kyndom. *R. Gl.* p. 31. Thou schelt be marked to thet stode. *Shoreh.* p. 5. þou ne sselt habbe uele godes.

\* See: Sam. Bamford's 'Dialect of S. Lancashire or Tom Bobbin's Tummus and Meary', 1850, p. 194. — In West Midland works from the 15th century we find the forms **schyn** and **schun**, as in *Liber Cure Cocorum*: Pekokys and pertrikys perboylyd **schyn** be. p. 29. For þer bene bestes þat schyne be rost. p. 34. And foules also þat rostyð schyne be. *Ib.* Alle **schun** be draȝun. p. 35. On alle þese fowles þo legges schune bene. And in Robson's *Metr. Rom.*, seche ferlies **schyn** falle, p. 12.

*Dan M.* p. 5. — Leir king — scal ben eouwer lauwerd. *La3.* I. p. 155. he scall hit abuggen. *Ib.* I. p. 163. æð heom sceli wurden. *Ib.* I. p. 232. þe scæl bi-læuen here. *Ib.* I. p. 254. (eow swal beon þe beten. *Ib.* I. p. 231.) hit schal. *O. a. N.* 844. he sal find þat so hit is. *Sarm.* 8. thi body arise schel. *Shoreh.* p. 4. him ssel þerof uorþenche. *Dan M.* p. 5. — we scullen ous bi-redien. *La3.* I. p. 179. Nu we sculle ræmen. *Ib.* I. p. 176. 3e sculen habben lif. *Ib.* I. p. 30 (3e sollen, l. t.) we sculleð bi-gunen. *Ib.* I. p. 227. heo sculleð eow þat lond bi-taken, þer 3e sculleð libben. *Ib.* I. p. 266. (we sculled, *Ib.* I. p. 228. we sulled, *Ib.* I. p. 230.) thes shulen ben. *Dame S.* 275. hi shulle wel avinde, *O. a. N.* 854. oþer men sulle aftir þe. *Sarm.* 15. hi sul dei at þe last and to þe deuil hi sul wend. *Ib.* 20. we sul i-se. *XV S.* 99. þe hestes ten, þet loki ssole alle men. *Dan M.* p. 5.

In the East Midland dial. I shall hafenn forr min swinn. *Orm.* D. 143. ic sal taunen ðe. *G. a. Ex.* 1290. — þu shallt tæronne findenn. *Orm.* Ded. 38. ðhu salt ben. *Gen. a. Ex.* 362. — to moruwe thou3 schalt ther inne falle. *B. a. S.* 32. — He shall onn ende wurpi ben. *Orm.* Ded. 127. he sal ben his mede. *Best.* 99. adam sul ðus — In blisse ðus leden lesteful lif. *G. a. Ex.* 303. — þe33 schulen lætenn hæpeli3. *Orm.* D. 79. Al ge it sulen witen. *G. a. Ex.* 730. alle ðo, ðe of him sule cumen sulen ermor in blisse wunen. *Ib.* 305, 306. we sulen. *Best.* 378.

The West Midland dialect. I schal. *All. P. A.* 283. If þou schal lose. *Ib.* 265. wy schalte þou. *Ib.* p. 563. now schal me. *Gaw.* 916. þis ilk toun schal tylte to grounde. *All. P. C.* 361. Vp-so-doun schal 3e dumpe. *Ib.* 362. 3et schal forty daye3 fully fare to an ende. *Ib.* 359. we schal yow wel acorde. *Gaw.* 2405. — þay schin knawe sone. *All. P. B.* 1435. þose þat seme arn & swete schyn se his face. *Ib.* 1811. we schyn reuel þe remnaunt of þis ryche fest. *Gaw.* 2401.

The Northern dialect. I sal schriue to Laverd. *Ps.* VII, 18. þat I sul nogt to þe sinne. *Ps. CXVIII.* 11. Swa sal we al at our last day. *Hamp.* 517. my fon days sere sal enden. *Ib.* 763.

In the preterite tense we have the differently spelled forms **schulde**, **scholde**, **sulde**, **suld** in all dialects, and they need no further explanation.

#### MISCELLANEOUS FORMS.

Before concluding, I will shortly mention some few singularities in certain writers with reference to Early English verbal forms. Thus the E. E. Psalter exhibits

several instances of deponents, moulded after the Latin prototype. So, for instance:

Herd Laverd, and es rewed of me, XXIX, 11 (misertus est.) þai ere me ronod, XXII, 4. (me consolata sunt.) Ronod me þou es LXX, 21 (exornatus es me!) Me ronod ertou nou, LXXXV, 7 (consoatus es me). wickness — I — am wlated, CXVIII, 163. (abominatus sum). Alle mete es wlated þar saule suld fede, CVI, 18. cute mine upbraidinge þat I am wende, CXVIII, 39. (quod suspicatus sum).

Early English reflective verbs generally agree with those in the Old tongue\*). Noteworthy is, however, the use of the verb to be in combination with reflect. verbs, which is found chiefly in Lowland writers. The Norman-French seems to have had influence upon these forms. So, in Barbour:

And haid him till erd ganē fullyly, ne war he þhynt him by his sted. II. 229. Sum to thair gret bataill wer withdrawyn thaim. IX, 281. And syne is went hym to the se. XI, 692.

Finally I shall give some examples of negative forms of verbs in Early English. The old speech had, as we know, negative forms for many verbs beginning with a vowel, the aspirate *h* or the semi-vowel *w*. This consisted in using the first letter of the negative particle

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\*) In *Sir Gawayne* we meet with a reflective verb which has puzzled all commentators. I quote here the passage where it occurs: "When non wolde kepe hym with carp he cozed ful hyȝe, ande rimed hym ful richley, & ryzt hym to speke: What, is þis Arþurs hous etc." — Sir Fred. Madden, (Gl. p. 406) renders rimed, still with hesitation, vociferated; Mr. Morris (Gloss. p. 112) says: spoke loudly, pointing at the O. E. hréman. Mr. Mätzner (Alt E. Spr. p. 315, footnote) judiciously remarks, that the verb hardly can refer to the very beginning of the speech, the following words just indicating this commencement, and he suggests it was a loud expression of illwill, without giving any etymological explication. I am of opinion that the refl. form forbids a closer connection with the O. E. neuter hréman, and I am rather inclined to think it is to be explained by the Danish reflective verb rømme sig, to hem, to clear one's threat. The meaning of the above lines might then be expressed as follows: When nobody would meet him with speech, he coughed loudly and hemmed contemptuously and prepared himself to speak.

ne as a prefix before the verbal form, with elision of h or w. In the Southern and Midland E. E. dialects the use of the negative verbs is very extensive, whereas the Northern dialect has discarded most of them.

In the Southern dialect. *ich nam noȝt strong. O. a. N. 753. ne thu nart thicke, ne thu nart long. Ib. 580. nis no man witute sunne. Ib. 861. neren never penes beter biset. Dame S. 294. we wold, louerd, þat we ner in world icom. XV S. 29. — ich nabbe, Dame S. 68. tharto nevestu none stevene. O. a. N. 896. wisdom naveth non evening. Ib. 770. hi nabbeth, Ib. 1003. help þe nedful þat nath non. Sarm. 17. loke þat ȝe nab no were. Ib. 59. hi nad bot þat appil i-ȝette, þat þe sin nas ido. F. a. P. 33. I nabbe. V. a. W. 39. ich nevede to muchel i-ete. Ib. 98. he nedde ȝare i-ete. Ib. 169. such qualité nath noman. Pop. S. 45. He hadde noȝt ȝut to hevene i-come. Ib. 106. — Nout I nelle lerne. Dame S. 48. Hethen nulli ben bi-nomen. Ib. 295. wi nul Goed mi soule fecche? Ib. 314. he nel be felaw. Sarm. 14. hoe nolde nout folewe his red. Dame S. 350. þer nis non þat nold him hide. Sarm. 28. I nolde. V. a. W. 161. ho so lie nele. Pop. S. 259. ȝe nul. Ten. C. 4. — noȝ no mon so muchel of pine. Dame S. 305. thu nost never wat thu menst. O. a. N. 755. He not. Ib. 821. I note what of is man so prute. Sarm. 42. hi nute whoder fleo. Pop. S. 180. no gilt be him he nist. F. a. P. 66. He nuste to weþer doȝter bete truste þo. R. Gl. p. 33. — hit nabuȝth. O. a. N. 780. wunder hit is that heo nawedeth. Ib. 1382.*

In the Midland dialects. *niss. Orm. 11705. nes, Best. 642. nis. B. a. S. 113. nile. Gen. a. Ex. 1806. nellde. Orm. 11811. — nis. All. P. A. 100. nys. Ib. 950. naȝ ȝe. Gaw. 2092. naf I. Ib. 1066. nade. Ib. 763. I.nolde. Ib. 1054. he nolde. Ib. 1661. — (In the North. d. nil þou hope. Ps. LXI, 11 (noli). nil þou set on þam þi hert. Ib. nil þou schend me. Ib. CXVIII, 31.)*

But I will here close these few extracts from my many notes. I will only add, that I do not here treat of words indeclinable, as these may more properly be classified with the vocabulary found in the different dialects, an important section of the language with which I hope to occupy myself hereafter.



## ABBREVIATIONS.

*Alex.* The Romance of King Alexander. (In Metrical Romances of the 13th, 14th, and 15th centur. Ed. Weber.) — *All. P.* Early English Alliterative Poems. Ed. Morris. — *Amad.* Sir Amadace, Ed. Stephens. — *Ancr. R.* The Ancren Riwe. Ed. Morton. — *Barb.* Barbour's Bruce, Ed. Jamieson. — *Bek.* The Life and Martyrdom of Thomas Beket. Ed. Black. — *Best.* A Bestiary. (In Reliqu. Ant. I. p. 208.) — *Brunne.* Langtoft's Chronicle by Rob. Mannyng of Brunne. Ed. Hearne. — *B. a. S.* Debate of the Body and the Soul. (in Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes. Ed. Wright; p. 344.). — *Cath. Alex.* A semi-saxon Legend of St. Catharine of Alexandria. Ed. Hardwick. — *Chauc.* Chaucer's Canterbury Tales. Ed. Wright. — *Cok.* The land of Cokaygne. (In E. E. Poems p. 156.) — *Dame S.* Dame Siriz (in Anecdota Litteraria, Ed. Wright p. 1.) — *Dan M.* Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyte. Ed. Morris. — *E. E. Poems.* Early English Poems and Lives of Saints. Ed. Furnivall. — *Gaw.* Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight. Ed. Morris. — *G. a. Ex.* The story of Genesis and Exodus. Ed. Morris. — *Hamp.* The Pricke of Conscience by R. R. de Hampole. Ed. Morris. — *Hav.* The story of Havelok the Dane. (In Morris' E. E. Spec. p. 39.) — *Hend.* The proverbs of Hendyng. (In Reliq. Ant. I. p. 109—116.) — *Horn.* The Romance of Kyng Horn. Ed. Rawson Lumby. — *Laz.* Laȝamon's Brut. Ed. Madden. — *Lyr. P.* Specimens of Lyric Poetry, composed in the reign of Edward 1st. (In the Herefordshire dialect.) Ed. Wright. — *Marh.* Seinte Marherite, þe Meiden ant Martyr. Ed. Osw. Cockayne. — *Marsh. Lect.* Marsh's Lectures on the English Language. — *Marsh Hist.* Marsh's The Origin and History of the English Language. — *Metr. H.* English Metrical Homilies. Ed. Small. — *Minot.* Poems by Laurence Minot. Ed. Ritson. — *Moral O.* A Moral Ode in Furnivall's E. E. Poems p. 22. — *Morris Sp.* Specimens of Early English by R. Morris. — *Mätzner.* *Alt. E. Sp.* Alt-Englische Sprachproben von Ed. Mätzner. I. 1. Poesie. — *Mätzner. Gr.* Englische Grammatik. Von Ed. Mätzner. — *O. a. N.*

The Owl and the Nightingale. Ed. Wright. — *Orm.* The Ormulum, Ed. White. — *Pop. S.* Fragment on Popular Science. (In Pop. Treatises on Science. Ed. Wright.) — *V. a. W.* The Vox and the Wolf. (In Rel. Ant. II. p. 272.) — *Will. a. W.* William and the Werwolf. (In Morris Spec. p. 237.) — *Rel. Ant.* Reliquiæ antiquæ. Ed. Wright and Halliwell. — *R. Gl.* Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle. Ed. Hearne. — *Sarm.* A Sarmun. (In E. E. Poems. p. 1.) — *Shoreh.* The religious poems of William de Shoreham. Ed. Wright. — *St. Andrew, St. Crist., St. D., St. Edw., St. Kath., St. Ken., St. Luc.,* is Early English Poems and Lives of Saints. Ed. Furnivall. — *St. Marh.* Seinte Margherete, Ed. Cockayne, p. 1. — *St. Marg.* *Ib.* p. 24. — *S. to the B.* The departing Soul's adress to the Body. Ed. Singer. — *Ten C.* The Ten Commandements. (In E. E. Poems, p. 15.) — *Townel M.* The Towneley Mysteries. Ed. The Surtees Society. — *XV S.* XV Signa ante judicium. (In E. E. Poems. p. 7.)

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#### ERRATA.

Page 24, line 18, for -ena, read -ene.

- 15, — 4, from bottom, for Roman, read Romance.
  - 47, — 19, for wassome times, read was sometimes.
  - 57, — 6, from bottom, for Therpe, read Thorpe.
-

1. The first part of the report is a general introduction to the subject of the study. It discusses the importance of the study and the objectives of the research.

2. The second part of the report is a detailed description of the methodology used in the study. It includes information about the sample, the data collection methods, and the statistical analysis.

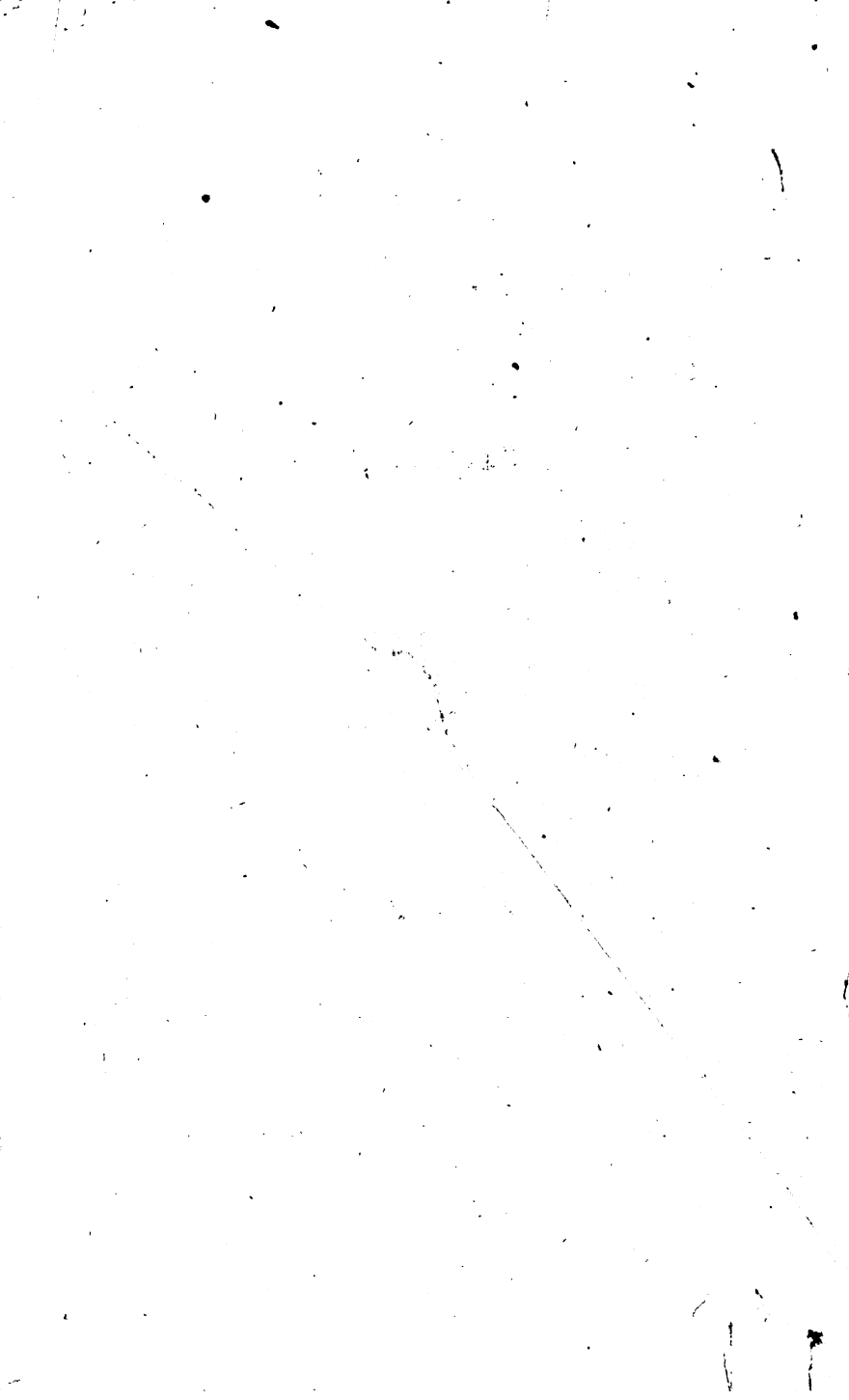
### 3. Results and Discussion

3.1. The results of the study are presented in this section. It includes a summary of the findings and a discussion of their implications.

### 4. Conclusion

4.1. The conclusion of the study is presented in this section. It summarizes the main findings and provides recommendations for future research.





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